

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

A REVIEW OF GERMAN-LANGUAGE RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS
ON PHILOSOPHY
HISTORY AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS
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PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

P.C. PANT

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PHILOSOPHY

Book Notes

ALTMANN, ALEXANDER

The Consolatory Enlightenment. Studies in the Metaphysics and Political Theory of Moses Mendelssohn

[“Die trostvolle Aufklärung. Studien zur Metaphysik und politischen Theorie Moses Mendelssohns”]

(Forschungen und Materialien zur deutschen Aufklärung, hrsg. von Norbert Hinske)

Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, Günther Holzboog GmbH & Co., 1982.

This Volume contains seven essays dealing with Mendelssohn's metaphysics and five devoted to his political theory. Among the first group five studies are concerned with his Leibnizian stance in cosmology and anthropology. The opening piece (“Das Menschenbild . . .”) links his view of the vocation of man with Leibniz's *Monadology* and delineates his notion of enlightenment as occupying a distinct place within the German *Aufklärung*. The next essay focusses on Mendelssohn's first work (the *Philosophische Gespräche*) and on the role played in his development by concern to come to grips with Spinoza. Related to this aspect is the effort made in the following essay (“Lessing und Jacobi . . .”) to illumine the background of the “pantheism dispute” concerning Lessing's alleged Spinozism, a controversy that darkened the last years of Mendelssohn's life. There follows an investigation of the way in which the *Phaedon*, his most famous work, came to be written. It suggests that the decisive inspiration was due to the clarification of his ideas on the vocation of man reached in the course of the prolonged correspondence with Thomas Abbt. As a counterpart to this latter essay the next paper investigates in some detail Lessing's belief in reincarnation. The last two studies on Mendelssohn's metaphysics deal with the proofs of God's existence and the notion of miracle and providence, drawing on previously unknown documents.

The five essays on Mendelssohn's political theory open up a hitherto almost unexplored field of research. The essay on natural law and the state of nature comes to the conclusion that these notions are seen by Mendelssohn to be

closely interwoven with questions of morality and the vocation of man. The next essay endeavours to clarify the points of political theory that are common to and those that divide Mendelssohn and Kant. In "The Philosophical Roots . . ." Mendelssohn's plea for toleration and equality of religious faiths is shown to derive from his understanding of natural law and divine purpose. There follows an investigation of the literary sources used by him in his questioning of the legitimacy of church disciplinary power. The final study deals with the conceptual elements involved in the history of toleration. An Appendix seeks to unify the metaphysical and political ideas of Mendelssohn, thereby clarifying the meaning of the term "trostvolle Aufklärung" (consolatory enlightenment, i. e. one that puts the mind at rest in relating it to God). It was this type of Enlightenment that Mendelssohn wished to represent.

Summary by the author

BECK, HEINRICH (Ed.)

Student's Guide to the Philosophy of Education

["Studienführer: Philosophie der Erziehung"]

Freiburg: Herder Verlag; 286 pp.

Heinrich Beck has provided in this guide (in which thirty authors have participated) a comprehensive survey of the philosophical problems underlying education and the upbringing of children. The question the book poses is not "How should education be carried out?" but "What is education in the first place?" (p. 15). The main schools of educational philosophy are outlined (metaphysical, materialistic, empiricist, dialectic, structuralist, hermeneutic and existentialist) and their differences clearly reflected, always against a background of Western Christian views of man. In a second section on main tasks and methods the basic concepts of pedagogics, its developmental models and the historical and social conditions of education are analysed, always with a view to formulating and establishing the task of educationalists. The book ends with a third section on practical hints for study.

The book is richly informative about the vast and varied amount of thought that goes into laying the foundations of education. In presentation it is biased towards the humanities, which raises the thought that some attention might have been devoted to the serious rift between education in the sciences and that in the humanities and to ways of bridging it. But apart from this the book is a valuable guide, being both informative and clearly structured.

Professor Dr. Hans Sachsse

BIERI, PETER (Ed.)

Analytical Philosophy of the Mind

["Analytische Philosophie des Geistes"]

Königstein: Athenäum Verlag, 1981; 357 pp.

The editor's aim in this anthology is to provide the German reader with an insight into the Anglo-Saxon philosophy of mind. The volume consists of fourteen representative texts written during the past twenty years (and here translated into German for the first time) grouped under the four headings of materialism; intentionality, language and thought; self-awareness, privacy and subjectivity; and the concept of person.

Its extraordinary merit lies first of all in the quality of the texts selected and in the carefully compiled and skilfully arranged bibliography, which helps the reader to find his way through what has in the meantime swollen into an unsurveyable sea of literature on the subject. In addition, the editor has provided us with introductions both to the volume as a whole, as well as to the individual sections, which are grouped according to subject-matter, thus conveying an exact picture of the various approaches and underlying convictions that for all their individual differences characterize philosophy of mind as a specific Anglo-Saxon way of philosophizing about the subjects "mind", "soul" and "consciousness".

The intuitive distinction between mental phenomena on the one hand and corporeal or physical ones on the other has given rise to the philosophical problems of an ontological dualism, traditionally treated under the title "body-soul problem". This classical dualism antecedes the problem of how to preserve intact the sphere of physical phenomena as a causal entity in itself, while still maintaining the causal effectiveness of mental phenomena in the sphere of physical data. Analytical philosophy has faced up to this dilemma on the basis of two underlying convictions. Since Ryle it has taken as its subject for discussion not the phenomena themselves, but propositions about phenomena (what Quine calls "semantic ascent"). But since the sixties it has in addition laid great emphasis on a scientific realism that studies the results of the empirical sciences. The editor sees in the materialist theory of the mind a promising attempt, after the failure of behaviourism, to resolve the insoluble problems of an ontological dualism. Materialism starts from the premiss that mental phenomena are in reality a kind of physical phenomena, though coherent explications have to be sought for this general formula. The most important variations of material theories of this kind are outlined, and central theses, motifs, underlying thought-patterns, as well as positive reasons and unsolved problems are discussed in relation to these variations, namely the theory of identity, eliminative materialism (which claims that mentalistic

expressions refer to nothing in reality), functional materialism, and finally non-reductive materialism (which aims to acknowledge and thus render comprehensible mental phenomena as a part of nature).

What emerges is that for all the promising approaches there is at the moment no entirely satisfactory theory. Hence there is still a need to evolve detailed analyses of the mental sphere that can be brought into line with the materialist models. With this in mind sections two to four offer the requisite attempts at a reformulation of the classical problems of intentionality (2), the privacy of self-awareness (3) and the concept of personality (4). The very precise introductions not only inform the reader on the present state of the discussions, but confront him directly with differences of opinion in the argument. To that extent the editor presents a practical exercise in analytical philosophy, whose most important task he sees as acting as a mediator between the new empirical theories of science and the old mentalistic descriptions and explanations of people.

Dr. Norbert Herold

BRINKMANN, HENNIG

Medieval Hermeneutics

["Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik"]

Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag; XV, 439 pp.

Hennig Brinkmann's *Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik* represents the fruits of the last ten years' work done by this (now Emeritus) Professor of Medieval German at the University of Münster (1958–1969). Part I is theoretical and systematic and outlines medieval theories of exegesis and comprehension (pp. 1–276), which are then given concrete form in the second part (pp. 277–434) on the basis of outstanding examples. Even more than in the wealth of material presented, the author's profound scholarship is revealed in his highly sensitive approach to the many aspects of the problem. At the same time he contrives not to allow his wise and judicious discrimination to obtrude on to the inherent cogency of the many quotations from sources, a cogency that, like the book as a whole, is in the best tradition of philological exactitude. The first part, in which a hermeneutic theory is evolved, opens with a presentation of the information essential to an understanding of the subject, i. e. of the author or his work, such as primarily the *materia* (content), the *intentio* (the author's purpose), the *utilitas* (the use to which the reader puts the book) and the form – these being the so-called questions of *accensus*. On the question of form he elaborates a system of classification whose categories of definition are based not only on theology but also primarily on the *artes*

liberales. The most important key to an understanding of medieval literature is for Brinkmann St Augustine's theory of signs, which depends mainly on a distinction between *vox* as a sign for *res*, and *res*, itself a sign for another *res* (p. 25). The latter, the "language of things", is what Brinkmann calls the "second language", whose meaning (*significatio*), according to a view taken over from St Augustine and generally accepted in the Middle Ages, is handed on to us by the Holy Scripture, words deriving from God Himself. On the other hand, the whole universe appears according to Alanus, as a theophany, God showing Himself in His creation like an artist in his work (p. 46 f.). After a section on the relationship of man to the world executed under the guiding category of microcosm versus macrocosm, Brinkmann describes the natural and above all supernatural (i. e. allegorical) significance of numbers (pp. 86–93), precious stones (pp. 93–101), animals (pp. 101–116), plants and trees (pp. 116–121), buildings and churches (pp. 123–132), of the exegesis of Holy Scripture (pp. 132–140) and of secondary statements in the *descriptio* (pp. 140–145) and in nature (pp. 145–153).

Fundamental categories for the interpretation of texts are *integumentum* and *allegoria*, which are both to be understood in the same function of an indirect or opaque information. The difference between the two, which is only gradually established, lies only in the spheres in which they are applied. If the *integumentum* is the indirect or opaque presentation of a philosophical truth accessible to the *ratio* in the form of an alienating fable (*narratio fabulosa*), then by the same token allegory is the concealment of a religious truth. At least for Bernard of Utrecht and for Bernard Silvestris (p. 214) it is true to say that the term *allegoria* is reserved for the *historia sacra* (p. 388). The purpose of hermeneutic exegesis – the text was encoded merely to preserve its valuable content – is to transfer back or decode an otherwise incomprehensible inaccessible text. The exegete must penetrate below the surface structure to the deeper dimension of its actual meaning. Brinkmann quotes as an example of an *integumentum* for the problem of love and death the Orpheus myth and its literary continuation in the stories of Pyramus and Thisbe and of Tristan and Isolde.

Other important levels of interpretation, alongside the dominant allegorical one (which is by its nature appropriate to the establishment of faith), are the "historical" (or literary) as the fundamental mode of understanding and the "tropological" (or ethical) and the "anagogical" (or eschatologically future-orientated). Here Brinkmann is essentially following Hugo of St Victor's *Didascalicon*. A concluding section in this first main part (Zeichen erster und zweiter Ordnung – Signs of the first and second order – pp. 260–276) brings together the most important ideas so far presented into a kind of summary that is at the same time a kind of linking passage to the second main part.

This is followed by a discussion (always most accurately documented both as regards textual criticism and the handing down of ideas) of commentaries on some exemplary works both from Classical and Christian authors: Virgil's *Aeneid* and Bernard Silvestris's commentary on the first six books of that work; Boethius's *Consolatio* and highly divergent commentaries by various authors on the central poem from that work "O qui perpetua"; the *Ecloga Theodoli* and Bernard of Utrecht's commentary on it; and – after a brief discussion of the hymns "Ales diei nuntius" by Prudentius and of Ambrosius's "Aeterne rerum conditor" – the Assumption sequence "Ave praeclara maris stella".

Vast as are the differences between the works thus commented on (differences in epoch, content and form), the commentators – as is to be expected – are all agreed on one thing, namely the necessity to guide the reader to the real meaning of the work, be it a philosophical or a theological truth, through a discussion of the literary level, whether, as is the case with the Classical texts, designated as *narratio fabulosa* or *figmentum poeticum*, or, as is the case with the Christian, religious works, as *historia sacra*. The aim is to penetrate beyond the complex of signs of the "first order" (*littera*), which, as a foundation, must be taken very seriously indeed, through to the actual point of interest of the interpretation, namely to reveal the "second order". "The example of the third book (of Virgil's *Aeneid*) demonstrates that Bernard (Silvestris) does not enter into questions of poetic shaping, but as far as the first level is concerned turns his attention only to the *materia* of the *narratio*, though not to what, following Macrobius, he calls the *figmentum*. All that is asked of the *narratio* is that it should provide the keys that can be utilized to explain the *integumentum*" (p. 305).

Of particular interest is the comparison between the various commentaries on "O qui perpetua" from Boethius's *Consolatio*, especially as regards the different values attached to the relationship between Christianity and Platonism. Whereas Bovo of Corvey is out to make a rigid distinction between the two (p. 334), William of Conches tries to mediate between them, and the cosmology that he acquires in this way influences the writings of Bernard Silvestris and Alanus (p. 347).

How decisive allegorical decoding is as a movement is also shown by the philological analysis of Bernard of Utrecht's commentary on the *Ecloga Teodoli*. A revealing approach to an appropriate understanding can only be achieved by decoding the roles played by the actors in this bucolic dispute between the goat-herd Pseustis and the shepherdess Alithia: "According to the preface on the allegorical explanation of the opening passage . . . Pseustis represents on the level of linguistic meaning pagan antiquity, on the allegorical level the false doctrines of the heretics; Alithia represents the orthodox;

Fronesis Christus represents an ecclesiastical writer or one of the faithful . . ." (p. 398). Here too "tropological" and "anagogical" ways of understanding can be added, insofar as there is a correct understanding of the appeal to each individual and of the eschatological dynamism which follow from the final judgement of Fronesis.

What is important in the commentaries on the sequence "Ave praeclaris maris stella" is the "eschatological dimension, that sees the New Testament as prefigured in the Old" (p. 422). Old Testament patterns of thought are thus being used as the vehicles for Christian conviction.

All in all Brinkmann's book presents the reader with a fundamental key to the poetry of the Middle Ages, with all its wealth of images to be only interpreted allegorically, offering an understanding of this poetry in the examples dealt with according to the principles of medieval hermeneutics. In this way he enables the interested reader to practise what he has read in understanding and forming an independent judgement on other medieval texts, or at least in appraising critically the medieval commentaries on appropriate texts. The helpful list of contents and indexes of proper names and subjects (restricted to the most important) make it possible for the reader who is interested only in specific problems to find his way selectively through this voluminous work. At all events they are a great help to the reader who wants to make sure in retrospect of what he has read. As Brinkmann's title claims, his work is now part of the fund of medieval hermeneutics.

Günter Bleickert

BURKHARDT, HANS

Logic and Semiotics in the Philosophie of Leibniz

["Logik und Semiotik in der Philosophie von Leibniz"]

München: Philosophia Verlag, 1980; 488 pp.

This volume can be considered the successful result of the attempt to write a companion to Leibniz's works on logic. For all the questions occurring in the relevant Leibnizian papers are treated in a clear and exhaustive way, ordering them according to the subject and following, if necessary, their tracks back to Aristotle and Stoic logic. By this feature, Burkhardt's volume will certainly be a very useful aid for anyone who undertakes the study of the Leibniz's texts on logic and semiotics.

On the other hand, what is perhaps lacking is an attempt to give an overall interpretation. The exposition of the various themes is careful and detailed, but seldom supported by a conceptual organization according to well-defined lines of interpretation.

Burkhardt's main concern, from which the essential feature of this volume results, is to show how deeply Leibnizian inquiries are rooted in the Scholastic tradition. The author does not seem to have much interest in the connections with later developments of logic. Burkhardt admits, indeed, that it is necessary to take a look at what happened at least until Frege (nothing is said about Husserl, Wittgenstein, the arithmetization of metamathematics performed by Gödel or the knowledge which followed and is interesting, from a theoretical point of view, for the Leibnizian plans too). But all we find is a comparison with Frege's semantics (pp. 230–236), and some very quick *excursus* (like that which, for the connections between truth and possibility, applies to Kripke, pp. 255–256).

Let us come now to a short description of the text with a few remarks. After a first chapter devoted to the theory of syllogism, there are two chapters centred on "semiotics": grammatical analyses aimed to construct the rational language and semantics in the proper sense of the word (i. e., theory of definition, of identity, of truth, . . .). The subject of the last two chapters is logic. The author follows the origin of logical calculi back to the plans of *characteristica universalis* and *combinatoria*, and examines the "philosophy of logic" of Leibniz.

In the second chapter the analysis of the relation between grammar and logic is of particular interest. First of all Burkhardt points out that mutual substitution of *definiens* and *definiendum* is only possible within logical analysis (pp. 92–94). Then it is observed that though both are concerned with language (*intentiones secundae*), grammar considers the way by which concepts find verbal expression, while logic further studies the truth-conditions of propositions. Through the synthesis of both these kinds of analysis we come to rational language, and on account of this close connection of logic and grammar Leibniz was able to transcend the bounds of historical investigations – within which linguistic analyses of Scholasticism and Humanism remained – and arrive at the attempt to construct a universal language (p. 138). (It seems that Burkhardt does not completely realize the following difficulty for the previous theoretical scheme: as Burkhardt himself observes on p. 127, Leibniz does not always distinguish between that by which an assertion is expressed and that which is asserted, i. e. what can be true or false.)

The strictly logical research of Leibniz is grouped according to Couturat's traditional division: 1679, 1686, 1690. Burkhardt distinguishes the ideas of Leibniz from any kind of epistemic logic, emphasizing their Platonistic (as well as their formalistic) traits. One of the basic theses here is that according to which Leibniz passed from a wide notion of logic (conceived as the art of thinking) to a narrower one, in which logic is considered as the study of the methods by which it is possible to sever true from false sentences, and to

derive new sentences from given ones. The observations on the relation between logic and mathematics and among logic, metaphysics and ontology are very interesting. Granted that for Leibniz metaphysics (the general science of all that can be thought, the science of the possible) is different from ontology (the science of existing things and of their modes), Burkhardt observes that Leibniz often identifies logic (the science of concepts and their properties) and metaphysics. Both are deductive sciences, whereas ontology is descriptive. But metaphysics cannot be reduced to logic, even if it is true that metaphysical concepts are completely accessible to logic. Logic, to Leibniz, is a sort of applied metaphysics: its task is to check the consistency of composed notions.

Dr. Enrico Moriconi

ENGFER, HANS-JÜRGEN

Philosophy as Analysis. Studies of the Development of Philosophical Conceptions of Analysis as Influenced by Mathematical Methodology in the 17th and Early 18th Centuries

["Philosophie als Analysis. Studien zur Entwicklung philosophischer Analysiskonzeptionen unter dem Einfluß mathematischer Methodenmodelle im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert"]

(Forschungen und Materialien zur deutschen Aufklärung, hrsg. von Norbert Hinske)

Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Fromman Verlag, Günther Holzboog GmbH & Co., 1982.

Eighteenth century European philosophy in general, and German Enlightenment prior to the "Critique of Pure Reason" in particular, largely conceive of themselves as *analytical philosophy*. This self-interpretation of the Enlightenment might be expected to derive chiefly from the empirical tradition of British philosophy. In fact, it is rooted no less, and in the case of German Enlightenment even more deeply, in a continental analytical tradition, which developed into the Rationalism of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The present work examines this particular *analytical tradition within Rationalism*, especially the methodological discussions in Descartes, Leibniz and Wolff, which are conducted almost exclusively in terms of analysis and synthesis. The programmatic use of these methodological notions in European Rationalism is strongly influenced by the example of mathematics and mathematical methodology. The discussion, therefore, centres around the question how mathematical methodology is used to build up conceptions of philosophical method. It endeavours to uncover, behind the apparently unanimous appeal to *the one* mathematical method, a reference to very different kinds of mathemat-

ical method. Apart from a model of analysis and synthesis invoked by natural science, there emerge four mathematical models which have influenced philosophical methodology: (1) an analytical interpretation of the method of Greek geometry, the fullest report of which is in the "Collectio" of Pappus of Alexandria; (2) the synthetic interpretation of the geometrical method founded on Euclid and Proclus; (3) the model of combinatory mathematics taken over primarily by Lullus into theological and philosophical argument; and, finally, (4) the procedure of contemporary algebra and calculus, developed by Vieta, Descartes, Newton and Leibniz under the name of Analysis.

Taking their bearings from these mathematical models, Descartes, Leibniz and, less obviously, Wolff develop distinguishable *analytical conceptions of philosophical method*, which supplement, or stand in opposition to, the better known *mos geometricus*. The methodological pluriformity resulting primarily from the distinctness of the mathematical models is enhanced by the difficulties of transferring any mathematical methodology to the realm of philosophy. The resulting modifications make for a variety of conceptions and approaches, which all figure under the common label of "philosophical analysis" and which the author is concerned to clarify. It turns out that the Enlightenment inherits from Rationalism competing methodological models within a *broad field of analytical tradition*, which represents the rationalistic background of the analytical programme of the Enlightenment, especially in Germany. Discrimination, therefore, between the different types of analytical methodology will serve to judge that programme and to give a more detailed account than has been possible hitherto of what "Aufklärung" meant.

Summary by the author

FLITNER, ANDREAS – KLAUS GIEL (Eds.)

Wilhelm von Humboldt. Study Edition. Volume V: Miscellaneous Writings, Autobiographical Pieces, Poems, Commentaries, Notes to Volumes I – V, Appendix

[“Wilhelm von Humboldt. Studienausgabe. Band V: Kleine Schriften, Autobiographisches, Dichtungen, Briefe zur Ergänzung der Abhandlungen, Kommentare, Anmerkungen zu Bd. I–V, Anhang”]

Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, in collaboration with Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1981; VIII, 768 pp.

With this volume Andreas Flitner and Klaus Giel bring to an altogether worthy conclusion the edition of Wilhelm von Humboldt's writings that they launched more than twenty years ago. The first four volumes published in 1960–64 have long since proved their usefulness as a "Study Edition" of Humboldt's principal writings: They are textually accurate, well printed, easy

to handle, and conveniently arranged by subject matter: Volume I, Writings on Anthropology and History; Volume II, Classical Studies and Aesthetics; Volume III, Philosophy of Language; Volume IV, Politics and Education. But the new volume, so long in preparation, adds a new dimension to the series – a dimension that was anticipated by the editors when they announced at the outset (Vol. I, pp. 608–9) that the fifth volume would fully annotate all the papers published in the preceding volumes, taking account of the documentation and scholarly writing about Humboldt and his work that had meanwhile become available. This has now been accomplished with exemplary competence. The notes comprise 416 closely printed pages in a volume of 768 pages. There is also a index of names of all five volumes and comprehensive bibliographies. All scholars seriously engaged in studying Humboldt's writings will want to have this volume at hand. To say this is not to denigrate the earlier work of a great editor, Albert Leitzmann. The seventeen-volume edition of the Prussian Academy of the Sciences (in which Leitzmann played the leading editorial role) is by no means supplanted in every respect; it contains a great deal, of course, that could not be included in the *Study Edition*, and with the publication of the reprint edition in 1968 it became much more generally accessible than was the case previously, as this reviewer can gratefully attest. But the commentaries and notes of the Flitner-Giel edition go far beyond anything attempted by Leitzmann and his colleagues. A enormous amount of work has gone into them.

In addition to the commentaries and notes, the fifth volume contains nearly three hundred pages of Humboldt's writings on a variety of subjects. There are some autobiographical pieces, a few poems, a miscellany from Humboldt's journals and reports during the years in Paris and Spain (1797–1801), a segment from the introduction to his translation of the *Agamemnon*, and several shorter Writings on the Philosophy of Language, including two on the Basques which supplement the book-length "Die Vasken" published in volume II (pp. 418 – 627). Last but not least are twenty of Humboldt's letters from the multitude still extant, including three previously unpublished. The letters selected deal with matters of substance at some length, a genre in which Humboldt excelled. Of course no selection from a mass of writings as great and varied as Humboldt's will satisfy everyone, but the editors, I think, have shown very good judgement. The most significant gap, as I see it, is the absence of anything documenting Humboldt's enthusiasm for the *Bhagavad-Gita* as a consequence of his Sanskrit studies; this is significant biographically and produced his only direct interaction with Hegel.

In preparing the notes and commentaries the editors have had the collaboration of several other scholars – Rose Unterberger, Wolfgang Ostberg, Ulrich Herrmann, Markus Bok, Günter Erdmann, and Philip Mattson. Mattson is

the leading expert on Humboldt's letters, of which he has prepared a two-volume index (1980). He has edited the letters in this volume, checking each item where possible against the original text and finding in a number of instances that previously published versions have considerable errors of reading. (Humboldt's handwriting is notoriously difficult to decipher accurately.) Mattson has also collaborated with Klaus Giel in preparing the extensive introduction and notes for the Writings on the Philosophy of Language of volume III. This big volume of 762 pages, first published in 1963, has been the one most in demand by purchasers – a reflection of the fact that Humboldt's writings on linguistics continue to stir up undiminished interest among scholars. The editors have been at pains to provide comprehensive treatment of the various Humboldtian concepts, such as 'innere Sprachform' (inner language form), "the most controversial term in Humboldt's Philosophy of Language" (V, p. 498), as they appear in the text.

At the present time the lineage of Humboldt's characteristic ideas on the philosophy of language and secondly, the circumstances of his "turn to language" provide the most substance for controversy among scholars pursuing Humboldtian studies. In volume V the person who wishes to form his own judgement on the "turn" will find several key documents: the brief memorandum "On Thinking and Speaking" of 1795 – 96; the journal entry of 10 May 1798 to which the title "On the Philosophy of Kant and Fichte" has been affixed; and the relevant part of Humboldt's letter to Schiller of September 1800. The editors have also given appropriate attention in notes at pp. 632 – 33 to Clemens Menze's significant treatment. According to Menze a sudden turn occurred in 1795 – 96 when Humboldt began to come to grips with linguistic questions within the context of Fichte's writings. The commentaries in volume V tend to reinforce the notion of a strong Fichtean influence upon him at this period (see esp. pp. 318 – 20, 626 – 28, 632 – 33). The colloquium of 23 May 1798 when Humboldt sought in vain to convince the French ideologues of the superiority of German philosophy, and the subsequent entries in his journals, seemed to confirm Humboldt's distance from Condillac and his latter-day disciples.

Now Hans Aarsleff, who has written knowledgeably and acutely about various aspects of eighteenth-century linguistics, has sharply challenged the notion that Humboldt stood to Condillac in a strictly adversative relationship. On the contrary, Aarsleff finds much unacknowledged indebtedness of Humboldt – and of Herder too – to Condillac, maintaining even that Humboldt's "decisive turn to language" did not come until after he read Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* in May 1798; after this, according to Aarsleff, Condillacian formulations began to appear frequently in his letters as, for example, in the one to Schiller in September 1800. Humboldt, it is true,

was not one to be habitually explicit about his intellectual debts. There is little doubt that there are lines of continuity linking him to various strains of eighteenth-century thought that have not been thoroughly explored. Among them is the Locke-Condillac strain. It is clear, I think, that a close study of Humboldt and Condillac, and of Humboldt and Fichte too, would be very useful. I am unconvinced, however, by Aarsleff's assertions about the *decisive* influence of Condillac in the year 1798. Humboldt's preoccupation with "comparative anthropology" and his frustration at failing to discover a means of coming to grips with a "characterology" of national identities were propelling him toward language as his central intellectual concern. And some of the notions associated with Humboldtian linguistics – such as the *Weltbild der Sprache* – had been "in the air", so to speak, for a long time.

The editors have made a gallant effort to supply up-to-date bibliographical information. Few readers will fail to find many titles of which they were unaware. But because of the sheer volume of what is constantly being published on linguistics as a branch of intellectual history, and in widely scattered places, it is a frustrating task (as the reviewer very well knows) to try to keep abreast of current scholarship. And although there may be a tendency at times to "demythologize" Humboldt, the fact remains that his standing as a Founding Father – to borrow H. M. Hoenigswald's expression – is still unimpaired. For the above reasons, it is not surprising that some significant recent writings have escaped the attention of the editors. A notable example is the very big book, *Historiography of Linguistics* (Vol. XIII, *Trends of Linguistics*, T. A. Sebeok, ed., The Hague, 1975), in which is to be found the long chapter on the "Eighteenth Century, including Leibniz" by Aarsleff where the discussion of Condillac's influence on Humboldt, already alluded to, occurs. This volume also contains important sections, with comprehensive treatment of the literature, on "The Romantic Age" (Helmut Gipper and Peter Schmitter) and "Language Classification" (A. Morpurgo Davies)¹. On the other hand, to right the balance, it must be stressed that a good many noteworthy writings listed in the Flitner Giel bibliographies are missing from the Sebeck volume. For example, Eugenio Coseriu's contribution to the *Festschrift für K. Wais* (1972), which is now the best discussion of Humboldt's "Sprachtypologie", is not mentioned in A. Morpurgo Davies' "Language Classification".

One welcomes the inclusion in volume V of a substantial portion of Humboldt's introduction to his translation of the *Agamemnon*. The problems dealt with there are still topical. They have been the subject of considerable recent

¹ Reference may be made here also to the contributions by Aarsleff and Hoenigswald to *Studies in the History of Linguistics*, ed. Dell Hymes, Bloomington and London, 1974.

discussion also in the United States and Great Britain as is evident in the writings of George Steiner and others. And one may refer also to the recent dissertation of Jutta Leppin *Translation and Education: a Study in the Theory of Translation of Wilhelm von Humboldt*. Köln, 1981). But in stating that Humboldt's version of the *Agamemnon* "appeared a failure both to contemporary and later critics" (p. 649), the editors have given only one side of the story. I refer to the quite different judgements of such experts as Wolfgang Schadewaldt and Eduard Frankel, to say nothing of Goethe.

From a biographical standpoint, two previously unpublished letters of Humboldt are of exceptional interest. One of them, of 1 May 1819, is to his brother Alexander; the other, of 18 August 1828, to Friedrich Thiersch.

Very few letters to Alexander survive, and for most of these we are indebted to the French police, who preserved copies of intercepted letters from Wilhelm to Alexander in Paris in the years 1816–20, some of which were published by E. Daudet in 1911; but for some reason Daudet did not print this one. It was written at a time when Wilhelm was absorbed with promoting a country-estate constitution for Prussia which, he was convinced should consist of estate legislative bodies at both the provincial and all-Prussian level. Alexander, however, had asserted in a recent letter that provincial estates would be worse than nothing, that Prussia should have only an effective all-Prussian legislative body on the French model. Wilhelm's reply, which fills eight printed pages, firmly rejects the French model and describes the kind of federal institutions that, in his view, were appropriate for Prussia; his prescription characteristically blends some liberal and conservative ideas. He had often expressed these ideas elsewhere, but never with greater force and cogency than in this letter. The letter to Thiersch is of considerable interest for several reasons. Like Humboldt himself, Thiersch was an educational reformer, a classical scholar, and a political activist. Long before 1828 he had come forth as a leading Philhellene with a wide circle of Greek friends, and he had published scholarly works on modern Greek language and literature. In this letter we find Humboldt enthusiastically applauding Thiersch's efforts in behalf of the Greek cause before going on to elaborate the view that the modern Greeks, for the sake of their own vital development, should avoid being smothered, as it were, by preoccupation with the ancient Greeks. Their problem was to gain a "more complete individuality" of their own. In this letter we also find Humboldt, incidentally, concerned with yet another language, Armenian, on which he had been buying books in Munich. It was not Humboldt's style to indulge in random political commentary in personal correspondence; this later gave rise to the widely held but erroneous view that, in his early years especially, he was uninterested in politics. After he left active political life in 1819 he generally avoided written comment on foreign political happenings, although

he was disposed to be very candid in private conversation. As far as I know, this letter to Thiersch is the first occasion where he is on record as favouring the Greek cause, although his wife Caroline's philhellene sentiments were already documented.

In their *Afterword* the editors remark that as a result of the preliminary work of Leitzmann, Arndt Schreiber, and Philip Mattson, "a complete edition of the correspondence would now be possible, and is one of the main desiderata of Humboldt research". This is an opinion that one may warmly endorse. Failing such a huge undertaking in the near future, one may perhaps venture to suggest that, on a more modest scale, an edition of significant letters so far unpublished, as well as of scattered letters hidden away in obscure publications, would also be very useful. There are apparently no big groups of unpublished letters to a particular individual, but relatively isolated letters can be very revealing on particular points as those included in volume V once again demonstrate. Meanwhile every serious student of Humboldt must gratefully congratulate the editors of the *Study Edition* for completing their big enterprise with a volume of such scholarly merit.

Paul R. Sweet

GETHMANN, CARL FRIEDRICH

Protologic. Investigations into the Formal Pragmatics of Justification Discourses

["Protologik. Untersuchungen zur formalen Pragmatik von Begründungsdiskursen"]

Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag; 194 pp.

The interest of philosophers in logic has always resulted from the fact that philosophy is concerned with problems of argumentation and justification, especially in areas where the practice of justification does not at first sight appear self-evident or unproblematical. Between its classical beginnings in Aristotle and its reformulation in the nineteenth century, logic's view of itself had changed from the ideal of a set of rules for argumentation to that of a theory of mathematical proof. As the author emphasizes, this latter view of logic forms the basis of logical empiricism, which postulates a pattern of rationality that, although subordinated to the model of mathematical argumentation, nevertheless claims universal validity even for non-mathematical realms.

Criticism of so-called standard logic (from Frege, Russell/Whitehead to Carnap) is mainly directed at this problematic claim to universality, which does not reflect the specific difference between everyday and mathematical

argumentation. Gethmann takes as examples of how such criticism approaches its subject works from the logic-criticism of the philosophy of normal speech like S. Toulmin's *The Use of Argument*, attempts to revive traditional rhetoric in connexion with the theory of legal argumentation like C. Perelman, and the theory of discourse as evolved by J. Habermas. However, Gethmann believes that even the standpoints represented by all these writers, although they demand that the practice of logical argumentation should be adapted to suit specific purposes, remain bound by the underlying stipulations of standard logic (p. 28).

The purpose of protologic, then, would be to fulfil a requirement that has never yet been adequately met, namely to justify epistemologically the calculi and rules of standard logic, Gethmann having taken over the idea of a protologic from Paul Lorenzen. In order to avoid endless regressions and circular arguments – the dilemmas of classical empiricist and rationalist justification-models – Gethmann adapts the procedure of the “productive justification” that takes as its starting-point the speech-practices of the kind given in everyday discourse in order to discover a hard core of rules for argumentation, representing the pragmatic basis of every argumentative and logical process – and he discovers this without “regressively” having recourse to final principles, but “productively” from the practice of everyday speech. Gethmann tries to evolve a “protologic” as a formal pragmatics of justification discourses, starting from the premiss that the guiding idea of logic is the rational organization of argumentative procedure (p. 45).

To characterize the degree of abstraction of various forms of argumentation-theory Gethmann distinguishes between discourse-situations, discourse-parties and discourse-contexts. Thus rhetoric investigates rules for argumentation that vary according to party or context (or which, in Toulmin's phrase, are “area-specific”). Unlike this kind of “material” pragmatics, formal discourse-pragmatics investigates only those rules that do not vary according to situation but are valid for all possible speech-situations.

Gethmann approaches his formal discourse-pragmatics in three steps. First, in a section on schematization of justificatory discourses he asks what kind of speech-acts or consequences of speech-acts best serve the purpose of justifying an argument, namely the purposes of comprehensibility and reliability. The establishment of distinctions between such speech-act units is methodologically interpreted by Gethmann as the schematization of justificatory discourses, which are characterized by typical speech-act sequences or standard forms such as demands that an utterance should be clarified, claims, doubts, agreement, consent or dissent (p. 85).

This elucidation of the speech-act patterns that are typical of justificatory discourses is followed by remarks on the “logicalization” of justificatory

discourses. Gethmann attempts to show that logical rules, which are usually formulated without context, can best be justified when they are demonstrated to be pragmatic "stylizations of succession-rules for argumentative procedure" (i. e., necessary in the interest of efficient practical understanding in the context of everyday requirements to reach quick decisions) (p. 108).

As examples of such succession-rules Gethmann discusses consequence-rules that are supposed to explain the pragmatic structure of consequences in justification-processes, performer-rules for apodictic or modal utterances, and finally proposition-rules, junctor-rules, quantor-rules. Apart from the fact that the reader is not always convinced by the way the individual rules are presented, especially the way their formulations in everyday speech are depicted, he/she gains the impression that standard logic, which Gethmann does not hesitate to take for granted as a "cultural fact", is not so much being justified as made to appear plausible.

Gethmann's postulation of a protologic as a formal discourse-pragmatics amounts to formulating the procedural rules that are implied in the logical systems as rules for action. This makes the customary logical operations appear, from the point of view of the pragmatics of justificatory discourses, to be rules for abbreviation and simplification. Like the logical systems themselves, these rules need examining with regard to their completeness and reliability; in other words, we need to ask whether the rules adduced comprise all conceivable justification-situations. This requires a "calculization" of justificatory discourses of a kind that would take into account the constitutive roles played in such discourses by the disputing parties – i. e. the changing roles of proposers and opposers –, while giving a complete description free from any situational variation of the argumentative, i. e. logically relevant, sequences of speech-acts (p. 155).

Dr. Elisabeth List

GÖBEL, DIETER

The Adventure of Thought. A History of Western Thought from Thales to Heidegger

[*"Das Abenteuer des Denkens. Abendländische Geistesgeschichte von Thales bis Heidegger"*]

Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1982; 344 pp., 10 ill.

The author is both a doctor of philosophy and a journalist, his book both knowledgeable and popular at the same time. Organised in ten major sections, the book offers a survey of the most important philosophers and their works, with "Western" denoting "European". For his motto Göbel quotes the following sentence from David Hume: "In all abstract trains of thought there

is one viewpoint which – when we are fortunate enough to hit upon it – serves to elucidate the object better than all the eloquence and verbal abundance in the world". Göbel's book is itself a very successful introduction, a sort of "propaedeutic", which would appear to be addressed to both the student and the educated layman and whose annotations meaningfully cite specialised literature which the interested reader can follow up.

The book is organised into ten sections: "The Emergence" begins with Thales, the Pre-Socratic, who was the first to pose the question of the world-principle in a *philosophic* manner; apropos Thales' answer, "water", Göbel writes: "What other substance then known would *in reality* have better fulfilled the *conceptual* conditions which were to be made with regard to a Most Universal?" (p. 16). This period extends from the seventh to the fifth century B. C.: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle set their stamp on the following one: here it is called, "The Foundations of Truth": thought applies itself to the question of its own validity. Each of the next two sections – "Guidance for Life" (Hellenism) and "The Dialogue with God" (Plotinus, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas) are also introduced by brief preliminary sections of a cultural-historical nature, before the philosophers together with their most important ideas are presented individually. The section "Precursors of the Modern Age" is devoted to the "seeds of doubt" and the "knowledge of not-knowing", to that nominalist counter-movement (i. e. counter to scholasticism), represented by Abelard, William of Ockham, and the magnificent speculation of Nicholas of Cusa. In the section "Between Metaphysics and Physics" the works of Descartes, the English empiricists, and Immanuel Kant provide the sequel. The section on German idealism (Fichte, Schelling, Hegel) is followed by the most important thinkers of the nineteenth century: "It was no longer philosophical systems of argumentation but rather philosophising attitudes to life, *Weltanschauungen*, and utopias, which moved the spirits of men who had become overbearing and insecure (p. 243, on Schopenhauer, Marx, Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche). The section "The Ruins of Metaphysics" (devoted to W. James, A. N. Whitehead, B. Russell, and L. Wittgenstein) provides the transition to the twentieth century: "The Shattered Dominance of Reason and the Liberation of Thought". Criticism of the sciences and of the total "claim to dominance of reason" is the object of E. Bloch, T. W. Adorno, K. R. Popper, and others, for whom philosophy is a problem rather than a programme. The book concludes with a section on the phenomenological school (E. Husserl, M. Heidegger): whether the new Turn Towards consciousness and language is to a greater or lesser extent able to solve the virulent problems of a philosophical nature, remains an open question, not only in this agreeable introduction to philosophy but in the contemporary situation in general.

Dr. Hedwig Wingler

GÖRLAND, INGTRAUD

Transcendence and Self. A Phase in Heidegger's Thought

["Transzendenz und Selbst. Eine Phase in Heideggers Denken"]

Frankfurt/M.: Vittorio Klostermann Verlag, 1981; 107 pp.

In the winter term of 1930–31 Heidegger gave a lecture on Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*. In this the comparison was made between "Hegel's dialectic development of the consciousness to self-consciousness and the transcendence of existence (*des Daseins*), reaching beyond the world of things (*das Seiende*) to one's own self just as it is" (7). Here as well as in his *The Essence of Reasons* (*Vom Wesen des Grundes*) (13 sqq.) and *What is Metaphysics?* (26 sqq.) "a change in his conception of existence" (*des Daseins*) (9), i. e. of man, can thus be pin-pointed.

Still it remains a matter of dispute "whether Heidegger's late philosophy makes a break with his early work or is the logical result of earlier foundations" (ibid.) At all events the "change of course" is not to be overlooked" (ibid.) Existence (*Dasein*) in the sense of "being there in the world" (8) may, we now hear, "become absorbed" (34) in concerning itself with such-and-such things, indeed be "fallen away" (ibid.) into this concerning of itself. This leads, however, to "unauthentic existence" (*uneigentlichen Existenz*) (35). "Authentic existence" (ibid.) is found through a "behaviour" (36) which corresponds to one's own "ground of being" (*Grund*) (34), and which allows itself to be guided and directed by this.

Existence is also "unauthentic" when it lives from "the dictates of other people's norms" (35) instead of transcending these and "taking possession of that which is its own, most personal, authentic Being (*das eigenste Sein*), from itself and out of itself" (38). This is demanded of us. The "conscience" "summons" (39) us to this transcendence. In this it summons us to ourselves, to the "potential Being" which is "most authentically" our "own" (*eigenstem Seinkönnen*).

Existence (*Dasein*) presses on and strives for a "wholeness" (22). This is not attained when we deliberately "distract" (35) ourselves in the multiplicity of things (*Vielfalt des Seienden*). What is demanded is that "existence detach itself from things" (*ichlösen des Daseins vom Seienden*) (7), and return to itself. Only thus can the "dimension of Being" (ibid.) be attained.

This "dimension of Being" is not "manifest" (34) in every case. Only he who takes the plunge and faces those situations fundamental to life as they correspond to our own specific "state of Being" (*Seinsverfassung*) (11), such as the "being suspended in the Void" (*Hineingehaltensein ins Nichts*) (9), the "dread" (39), the "being in relation to Death" (*Sein zum Tode*) (37), can hope to draw nearer to this dimension.

For it is here that a limit to our freedom becomes clear (31): Transcendence to authentic Being cannot be "actively brought about" (*machen*). „Of himself" man "has no power over this transcendence" (33). He can only make himself "ready" (38), in that he takes upon himself the "fundamental conditions" (*Grundbefindlichkeiten*) of Life (40), instead of fleeing from them. Only then can transcendence "come over" him, "come about" in him.

Dr. Johannes Balthasar

HAMMACHER, KLAUS (Ed.)

Transcendental Thought. The Present Portrayal of Fichte's Philosophy

[*"Der transzendente Gedanke. Die gegenwärtige Darstellung der Philosophie Fichtes"*]

Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1981; XVI, 616 pp.

This voluminous work covers practically the whole gamut of contemporary Fichte research, comprising as it does contributions from some forty Fichte scholars of repute who, now that the new critical edition of Fichte's works has practically reached the half-way stage, have come together to make a kind of philosophical inventory. What emerges from the papers is that the new edition (by a team of scholars under R. Lauth) casts new light on a number of questions from the history of philosophy. Furthermore, by acting as a corrective to previously held historical clichés attributable mainly to Hegel, it has enabled the idea of the transcendental to be brought back into the discussion.

The papers, each followed by a brief discussion, are arranged under the headings *Wissenschaftslehre*, practical philosophy and matters concerning the history of philosophy, though these various problem-areas frequently intersect. The impossibility of a strict division results from the very claim of the transcendental idea itself: as Lauth stresses in his introductory paper, the originality of Fichte lies precisely in his desire to apprehend the unity of theoretical and practical reason as evolving from one principle, namely activity.

Attention can be drawn here to only a few results emerging from the individual studies on the *Wissenschaftslehre*. A study of realism and idealism, for instance (M. Brüggem), compels us to revise the previous overemphasis laid on the real standpoint of the *Wissenschaftslehre* of 1804. Our understanding of the concept of "intellectual intuition", so central to Fichte's thinking, has been complicated in no small measure by the way it has been transmitted to us by Hegel and Schelling, and a reworking and clarification of early Fichte reception has made possible a better understanding of such central concepts as

"intellectual intuition" (Philonenko), "imagination" (J. Schreiter) and "activity" (M. J. Siemek / W. H. Schrader). Another problem specific to Fichte scholarship lies in the fact that Fichte repeatedly re-issued his *Wissenschaftslehre* in different forms, and a number of papers present the various versions and try to reconstruct the genesis of the *Wissenschaftslehre* and do away with the hegemony of the later versions, especially that published by Max Wundt in the *Fichte-Forschungen* of 1926, which reveals too strongly the influence of then current ideas.

Much stress is laid on the relationship between language and philosophy. W. Janke, following Fichte, maintains that language is itself not an activity. P. Baumanns, taking as his starting-point the theory of speech acts (he is critical of Austin and Searle), attempts a reconstruction of practical philosophy, central to which is an interpretation of "positing" and an exact definition of the concept of "challenge". M. Zahn traces Fichte's explicit comments on the philosophy of language to demonstrate that Fichte continues the mode of argumentation of methodical thought known since Descartes, even though, being critical of language's powers of expression, he accepts only his own construction intuitively. K. Müller-Vollmer shows that Fichte's influence on the Romantic theory of language emanates mainly from the late theory of interpersonalit, demonstrating traces of this influence in Bernhardt, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Schlegel and (something which throws a new light on the reception of transcendental philosophy in England) in the poetic theory of Coleridge. W. H. Schrader considers the relationship between Fichte and present-day theorems of the school of linguistic analysis, showing that Fichte's enquiry into self-identity and his concept of "action" are not identical with the problem of self-referentiality. In opposition to any such psychological misapprehension he interprets Fichte's concept of "action" as a postulative proposition which does not lie in self-awareness but is necessary to explain the possibility of self-awareness.

Particularly interesting are the papers on problems of Fichte's political philosophy, which are linked with the doctrine of interpersonalit. They point out a dichotomy in his thinking, in the form of a contradiction between moral, ideal and rational principles of ensuring domination and success; for Fichte's political philosophy is marked by a gradual movement away from theories emanating from his doctrines of interpersonalit and freedom towards the vision of a centralized technological state acting through force. Other instances demonstrated in the present volume of this discrepancy between the demand for freedom and ideas as to how this freedom is to be realized politically (a discrepancy that can be interpreted as a knowledge-versus-life polarity, P. Druet) are: problems of how to achieve justice by force (K. Hahn), of technocratic modes of thought in Fichte's economic theory (H. Hirsch) and of

his proposals for ensuring the rights of nations by guarantees (R. Schottky). Clearly, for all his emphasis on the ideal of freedom, Fichte's political ideas lead in the direction of a totalitarian state based on force, though his later philosophical writings suggest a return to a deeper doctrine of interpersonalism and represent in a certain sense "utopian" reflexions on a new ethic. Approaches to this can be detected in Fichte's teaching about the presentation of the image of God in reality (H. Verweyen) and in the concept of the "synthesis of the spirit world" (J. Manzana).

Even papers primarily concerned with Fichte's historical position cannot escape the question of how Fichte's transcendental thought can be made fruitful for present-day philosophizing. This is as it should be: Fichte did not see a philosophical system as an old piece of household lumber, but as part of a comprehensive process of getting to grips with life. This collection of papers closes with a survey of still outstanding problems of Fichte's philosophy by R. Lauth, a bio-bibliography of the authors, a name and subject index and a report summarizing the conference.

Dr. Norbert Herold

HENKE, DIETER

God and Grammar: Nietzsche's Critique of Religion

["Gott und die Grammatik. Nietzsches Kritik der Religion"]

Pfullingen: Günther Neske Verlag, 1981; 212 pp.

The title *God and Grammar* would appear to indicate a resumption of the discussion of Nietzsche's epistemology and linguistic philosophy as revived by A. C. Danto, A. Schmidt, J. Habermas, J. Simon and R. H. Grimm. The sub-title, however, indicates that Henke is not primarily concerned with an interpretation of the Nietzschean conception of cognition and language, but rather with an interpretation of the whole aim of Nietzschean philosophy as a critique of religion, starting from epistemological reflexions. Henke takes as his subject the apparent contradiction between the well-known formula of the death of God and Nietzsche's animadversion from the critique of "reason": "I fear we shall not get rid of God because we still believe in grammar"¹. Henke sees in the suspicion contained in this sentence the ultimate consequence of Nietzsche's reflexions on epistemology and linguistic theory, which he understands as a destruction of the "naïve" axioms of metaphysical or transcendental reflexion on the conditions of truth and perception – axioms that he

¹ VI 3,72. I quote Nietzsche according to the critical edition of G. Colli and M. Montinari. The Roman numerals indicate the section, the first Arabic numeral the volume, the second the page.

alleges have hitherto remained concealed. At the same time this suspicion is a clue to a hypothetically assumed underlying anthropological situation which Henke designates as a "basic experience of a deficiency" (p. 35). This "basic experience" results from the absolute withdrawal of reason from all reality, with the result that human consciousness, with its faith in "bridges" of correspondence and analogy, can no longer find any access to reality, because it no longer feels that the achievements of its own understanding have any sure basis in a rationality of the cosmos either existing from the beginning or based on an act of divine creation. Abandoned in this way by any given system of reason, man has recourse to autonomous efforts of interpretation provided by his own consciousness, i. e. a consciousness essentially isolated from the world, and these efforts take their bearings not from a truth immanent in reality, but from an orientation based on existence, the only thing that makes life possible. Henke thinks that it must in principle be possible to see a religion in the anthropological necessity of having to interpret reality without any basis in objective reason, simply from man's fundamental urge for creating metaphors². "Religion" functions as it were as an all-embracing concept to cover all attempts (as Henke puts it, in a vague but not explicit verbal allusion to W. Benjamin) at establishing the "memory of the whole" in a "recall of the unlosably smallest detail", thus tying up the "individual" by means of an "inexhaustible wealth of names" in an "enclosing totality" (p. 34 f.), insofar as these attempts are informed by the consciousness "that man has nothing to expect from the world" (p. 36).

Two objections could be levelled at this concept of religion, which Henke applies throughout: The first is that Henke fails to define precisely the outlines of the concept of religion that he applies and takes for granted. What is necessary above all is an overt discussion not only of the concept of religion as revealed knowledge, but also of philosophical theology (or theological philosophy) as a tradition reconciling faith and knowledge, with such names as Marius Victorinus, St. Augustine of Hippo, the Pseudo-Dionysius (Areopagita), Scotus Eriugena, Meister Eckhart, Cusanus and Hegel springing to mind³. Both these variants of the concept of religion expound a relation of man to the "world" that is at odds with the way Henke understands religion – world being interpreted here as a manifestation founded in God, or in a divine inner-Trinitarian reason, a manifestation of the *bonitas* and rationality of the Creator, and one by which the human intellect can orientate itself in its understanding of the cosmos and of itself. What Henke seems to be using as

² III 3,381.

³ For this tradition see W. Beierwaltes, *Platonismus und Idealismus*, Frankfurt/Main 1972, especially the discussion of Exodus metaphysics, pp. 5–82.

his starting-point is a concept of religion that sees God (as for instance W. Weischedel does) as a totally insubstantial "from whence of dubiety"⁴. Or are we supposed to follow the Gnostic implications of the philosophy of W. Benjamin and T. W. Adorno and denounce any reason, be it only partially effective within the world of reality, as a heresy that has fallen victim to a deceptive manoeuvre of the wicked demiurge?

This association with the Gnostic concept of religion⁵ forces itself on our attention when Henke holds the "fetish-ridden nature of language" (p. 61) responsible for the loss of the Gnostic ideal situation of the human horizon of life and understanding being entirely untouched by the merely apparent rationality of the cosmos. Surely, so it is argued, Nietzsche exposed as an atavistic compulsion the interpretation of reality according to a category of causality already incriminated by Schopenhauer. Since the subject-predicate structure of language which not only Nietzsche but also Henke considers to be so essential in principle suggests causality judgements on reality, then language constitutes a view of reality that reduces its manifold nature to an identical basis. What is explained as this basis is for Nietzsche (as Henke sees him) the God of the prevailing view of reality, so that the history of human consciousness is interpretable *in toto* as the history of the gods it has produced. Even if some Nietzsche texts do suggest a universalized view of religion similar to this⁶, there is little meaning left in such overworked generalities as Henke's global formulation, unreflectingly latching on to the secularization theses of the kind put forward by K. Löwith, "that religion continued and still continues to flourish where manifestly no religious gesture is perceivable" (p. 38). The second objection which could be levelled at Henke's conception of Nietzsche's religion is that he does not clarify its position in relation to the intention of Nietzschean philosophy seen as a whole. He takes no account either of the conceptual definitions used by Nietzsche to characterize the many-faceted nature of religion, or of the texts in which Nietzsche endeavours to distinguish religion from other aspects of human activity like science and art. In particular he pays too little attention to determining the relevance to Nietzsche's conception of religion of the question, so decisive for Nietzsche,

⁴ W. Weischedel, *Der Gott der Philosophen. Grundlegung einer Philosophischen Theologie im Zeitalter des Nihilismus*, Vol. 2, Munich 1979, pp. 206 ff.

⁵ The *Geworfensein* of a soul abandoned by any kind of cosmologically established reason into an essentially irrational and therefore evil world is, according to H. Jones, the decisive structural feature of Gnosis (*Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, 2 vols, Göttingen 1966 and 1966).

⁶ Henke quotes especially from aphorisms 16 to 19 from *Der Antichrist* (VI 3, 180-183). Reference might also be made to Aphorism 59 from *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (VI 2,76), as well as to Nietzsche's early conception of religion (not taken into account by Henke), especially in the *Geburt der Tragödie* and in the second *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtung* on the usefulness and disadvantage of history for life (III 1,298: history as thwarted theology).

of the "extent to which interpretations of the world are symptoms of a dominant urge" (VIII 1, 264 f.). Had he done so, he would have seen that in Nietzsche the question of the energetic impulse of coming to terms with life (an impulse that is not only not conscious, but even essentially inaccessible to consciousness) takes systematic precedence over the question of the function and nature of religion. A more precise elucidation of Nietzsche's theory of consciousness would have led to an explanation of the question of religion as only one aspect of the question of the necessity and the prevailing functions of an interpretation of the world that inevitably proceeds perspectively. In this way Nietzsche's philosophical intention could, in a manner more appropriate to Nietzsche's view of himself, have been shown to be an essentially artistic view of the world, because Nietzsche elucidates "the justifying principle . . . from which life explains itself" (VIII 2,8) not on the paradigm of religion, but primarily on the paradigm of art. Art as "the one great activity that makes life possible" (VIII 2,436) is even for the later Nietzsche the decisive "counter-movement" to religion, morality, philosophy and science – all "*décadence*-forms of man". As such it has a "tonic" effect, "increases strength, inflames desire". It evokes the aesthetic condition as a "plethora of means of communication" and the condition of an "extreme susceptibility to stimuli and signs", which finds its perfection in the "frivolity of the dancer" (VIII 3,88) – a frivolity that is "divine" but no longer productive of divinity.

I see the essential merit of Henke's book as lying in its justified emphasis on the essential rationalism of Nietzsche's criticism of rationality. Since Nietzsche holds fast to the means of a linguistically formulatable argumentation, his criticism of the allegedly language-ridden European rationality comes up against "previously undreamt-of and essential barriers of utterability and insight" (p. 175), but does not try to make up for this by leaping into sheer irrationalism. This approach enables Henke to characterize Nietzsche's relation to the tradition as anything but exclusively destructive. He is also able to demonstrate convincingly the fundamental difficulties of content that have prevented Nietzsche for reasons of intellectual honesty from comprising "the ineluctably resultatory nature of his thinking" (p. 188) in the form of a systematic *magnum opus*. Hence Nietzsche emerges as a deeply tragic figure in that "of all the critics of the nineteenth century he would like to see the most radical break with the past accomplished" and yet can "at the same time less than anybody" expect "discontinuity" because of his awareness of the essential thralldom of human thought to language (p. 188).

Dr. Alfons Reckermann

HÖFFE, OTFRIED (Ed.)

Great Philosophers. Vol. 1: From the Pre-Socratics to David Hume. Vol. 2: From Immanuel Kant to Jean-Paul Sartre
 ["Klassiker der Philosophie. Bd. 1: Von den Vorsokratikern bis David Hume. Bd. 2: Von Immanuel Kant bis Jean-Paul Sartre"]
 München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981; Vol. 1: 562 pp., plates. Vol. 2: 555 pp.

The history of philosophy as a philosophical discipline occasionally falls into disrepute, such as when it tries to dispense with a systematic approach and pretends to be able to report positivistically "how it really was". On the other hand, a covert or radically overt subjectivist view of the history of thought is no less problematical, since those who approach the subject with such a view are only interested in finding their own preconceived notions in the historical manifestations of an idea, and/or cut the past down to size with ideological radicalism with the intention of forcing it to suit their own interests. Reflections on the history of philosophy are only likely to lead anywhere when the writer is himself philosophizing, without distorting the ideas of his subject to make them fit his own, when he casts light on the argumentative structure of the ideas, their plausibility and the questions they are seeking to answer at any given time, when he remains constantly aware of his own historical conditionedness and at the same time tries to establish the relevance for truth of what has once been thought.

In the present state of philosophy there is – understandably – a lack of optimism and – in view of the wide range of groundwork being done – a lack of energy on the part of individuals to write a history of philosophy of a universal kind, as was done in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries without a lot of self-tormenting *epoché*. Even Hegel's heritage has been fragmented by an increasing scepticism about universal historical surveys: it can no longer be demonstrated that there is a *necessary* development of philosophy as the clearest indication of the development of mind. Immediately after Hegel, work on the history of philosophy concentrated on individual epochs (e. g. Eduard Zeller's *Philosophie der Griechen* or Johann Eduard Erdmann's *Entwicklung der deutschen Spekulation seit Kant*): History branched out into histories which, though presented by different authors, nevertheless aimed at a representative view of the whole. Typical attempts to come to grips with the history of philosophy in our own century are Max Dessoir's *Geschichte der Philosophie* (1925), in which several authors participated, also E. von Aster's edition in two volumes of monographs under the title *Grosse Denker*. In 1959 Heinemann initiated an encyclopaedic work on the history of philosophy, its disciplines and tasks in the collection *Die Philosophie im 20. Jahrhundert*.

Even that most vast of all present-day enterprises in the field of the history of philosophy, the new edition of "Überweg" (on which several years' work has already been done) is a result of team work. The specialization of modern research simply demands a mode of presentation that allows specialists to talk about their special field; here they may legitimately "simplify", if the prospective readership appears to make that desirable, without falling below the standard expected of philosophical reflexion. The result of this is that a collection such as the one in hand becomes accessible to the non-specialist, the so-called "philosophically interested layman", while remaining informative and stimulating to thought around and beyond the subject-matter. The concentration on the "classics"¹ means a concentration on those expressions of philosophical thought that are themselves of high intellectual quality, intensity and originality of insight and that in addition have been vital for the development of thought in general or of individual questions. The contributions submitted to the volumes edited by Otfried Höffe² are in part written by scholars of repute. Each one contains a brief biographical sketch and in spite of the relatively meagre amount of space allotted to each manages to enter into a fairly sophisticated analysis of the basic questions, methods and intentions of each philosopher as well as of the solutions he proposes, also taking into account historical context and subsequent influence. Each contribution provides bibliographical references and notes. One could argue about the choice of philosophers presented, and different stressings might have been conceivable (why, for instance, Bergson and Russell but not Jaspers?). In spite of this, I think the editor is to be congratulated on a collection of articles that can stand for itself and that is extremely well adapted for use as an introduction to the history of philosophy, using specific thinkers as paradigms for their period. It can show its face without blushing beside *Grundprobleme der grossen Philosophen* (1972 et seq., edited by J. Speck), which is more concerned with the history of philosophical *problems* and is therefore more specialized, also beside the almost identically entitled *Klassiker des philosophischen Denkens* (dtv, edited by N. Hoerster, 2 vols., 1982), since it can claim to be original and can therefore expect the welcome it deserves. It is a challenge for the interested reader to compare the various points of view in these analogous publications.

Professor Dr. Werner Beierwaltes

¹ It is clearly the intention of the Beck Verlag to bring the classics to public attention, as is indicated by further series, some in print and some still to appear: classics of political and sociological thought, classics of theology, educational theory, literary theory and the sociology of art.

² Otfried Höffe is also the editor of a series of monographs entitled *Grosse Denker* that is to portray the life, work and influence of philosophers and theologians. Volume I has so far appeared: Craemer-Ruegenberg on Albertus Magnus (Beck Verlag, Munich, 1980).

KLIBANSKY, RAYMUNDUS – JOHANNES GERHARDUS SENGER (Eds.)

Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia. Vol. XII: De Ventatione Sapientiae de Apice Theoriae

Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1982; XXVIII, 249 pp.

Great progress has been made in the study of the thought of Nicholas of Cusa since the publication of Edmond Vansteenberghe's classic work, *Le cardinal Nicolas de Cues (1401–1464): L'action – la pensée* (Paris 1920; repr. Frankfurt 1963). A survey of the research which has been carried out since that date is provided by the bibliographies published in the *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge* of the Cusanus-Gesellschaft (which was organized in Mainz in 1960 and has been located in Trier since 1981). The foundations for this research have been laid by the new editions and translations of Cusanus' works: *Cusanus-Texte* (Heidelberg 1929 ff.), *Schriften des Nikolaus von Kues in deutscher Übersetzung* (Leipzig/Hamburg 1936 ff.), reprints of the Strasbourg 1488 (repr. Berlin 1967) and Paris 1514 (repr. Frankfurt 1962) editions of the *Opera*. Above all, the great Heidelberg Academy edition of Cusanus' *Opera omnia* (Leipzig-Hamburg 1932 ff.) has progressed rapidly in spite of a long interruption (1944–1950) in consequence of the Second World War.

The present volume – volume XII of a projected 21 volumes – provides the long-awaited critical text of two of Cusanus' last works: *De venatione sapientiae* (3–113) and *De apice theoriae* (117–136). In addition to the text, the editors provide an extensive preface dealing with the titles, the dates of composition, the manuscript tradition and early editions of the works, Cusanus' Latin, and the method of the edition (ix–xxviii), testimonia (139–144), annotations concerning emendations and sources (147–169), indexes of names (173–203), manuscripts (204–208), and words (209–249). The text itself is accompanied by four apparatus: textual variants, sources explicitly cited, by or obviously known to Cusanus, parallels in others of his works, testimony to the influence of the work in later authors.

The titles of the works are explained in terms of their sources. The metaphor of the chase in *De venatione sapientiae* is traced to Plato, Ramón Lull, and various German mystical writers, and its influence is discovered in later authors like Ficino, Bovillus, and Bruno. The term "theoria" in *De apice theoriae* is not to be understood in the Aristotelian sense of mere contemplation, but rather in the way Proclus describes the consideration of God himself. For both works the editors suggest slight modifications of the usual chronology: for *De venatione sapientiae* 1462 (not 1463), for *De apice theoriae* 1464 (not 1463). The latter dating would make *De apice theoriae* in all probability Cusanus' last work.

The sources explicitly cited by or obviously known to Cusanus have been

identified with great care. The principal sources employed in *De venatione sapientiae* include Scripture, Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes, Laertius, Proclus, Pseudo-Dionysius, the School of Chartres, and Albertus Magnus. For *De apice theoriae* the editors find that Cusanus used very few sources. One important authority seems to have been overlooked by the editors: Ramón Lull, echoes of whose writings are heard very frequently in both works. This oversight is surprising since E. Colomer, in his *Nikolaus von Kues und Raimund Lull* (Berlin 1961), deals extensively with Cusanus' debt to Lull in *De venatione sapientiae* (pp. 86–88 et passim), and the editors of Cusanus' *Sermones* (vol. XVI) have painstakingly identified many echoes of Lull's thought in Cusanus' early terminology. For the works edited in this volume the following references could have been made (citation by section and line; ROL = Raimundi Lulli opera latina [Palma de Mallorca 1959–67; Turnhout 1975 ff.]; MOG = Raimundi Lulli opera [Mainz 1721–1742]):

De venatione sapientiae 35 11–17) differentia . . . concordantia . . . aequalior: cf. *Ars inventiva veritatis* dist. 1 de secunda figura (figura T) (MOG V 6–12). These are three of the nine relative principles of the *Ars lulliana*, of which six can be applied to God (cf. Colomer 85, 149).

41 8–9) bonitas bonificat, album albificat, et ita de omnibus: cf. *Liber de potestate infinita et ordinata* (ROL I 237–262) and Cusanus' excerpts from this work (Colomer 138: bonitas [habet actum proprium qui est] bonificare) and *Disputatio Petri clerici cum Raimundo phantastico* (ined.) and Cusanus' excerpts (Colomer 143: albedo . . . causat album de ipsa albificatum). Each of the principles of the *Ars* is, in Lull's conception, dynamic. Because an activity presupposes an agent, a patient, and an act which unites them, Lull spoke of three correlatives of any activity (e. g. amans, amatum, amare or agens, agibile, agere) and gave them names which probably derive from Arabic verb-forms: Actus bonitatis dico bonificativum, bonificabile, bonificare (*Liber de correlativis innatis*: ROL VI 128–152, and Cusanus' excerpts: Colomer 156 f.). Cusanus adopted this notion for his speculation concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation (cf. Nicolai *Opera* XVI, 1 [Sermones] fasc. 1, p. 7 [Sermo I 6 9–13] and Colomer 89–96).

43 5–6) bonitas, magnitudo, veritas, pulchritudo, sapientia, perfectio, claritas et sufficientia: cf. *Ars inventiva veritatis* dist. 1 de prima figura (figura A) (MOG V 3–6). These names are clearly related to the nine absolute principles of the *Ars*; Lull calls them "dignities", Cusanus "praises" and treats them in chap. 15–20 in a way which is similar to that of Lull, for whom they are transcendental concepts which can be asserted of all being and provide a means of ascent from their multiplicity in created being to their unity (coincidentia) in God (cf. Colomer 87 f.).

63 20–21) unitatem fecundam de se aequalitatem generantem et amorem connectentem ab unitate et aequalitate procedentem: This is a corollary of the Lullian doctrine of the fecundity of the principles of the Ars; Cusanus apparently noted the similarity of Lull's idea of the correlatives to the Chartrain triad "unitas, aequalitas, connexio" some time between his *Sermo I* and *De docta ignorantia*, and used it to structure several of his works in a way much like these chapters of *De venatione sapientiae* (cap. 21–27).

80 6) principia, media et fines: cf. *Ars inventiva veritatis* dist. 1 de secunda figura (figura T) (MOG V 6–12). Three further relative principles. The doctrine of the relative principles is closely related to the idea of the correlatives. Cf. supra 35 11–17.

92 10–11 and 93 1–6) principium sine principio et principium de principio et principium ab utroque procedens, sic erit et principiatum sine antiquiori principiato et principiatum de principiato et principiatum ab utroque procedens: an application of the correlatives to one of the relative principles. Cf. supra 41 8–9 and 63 20–21.

94 18) ars memorativa: cf. *Liber de memoria* (ined.) and Cusanus' excerpts (Colomer 179–182).

96 4–5) in homine Jesu Christo incarnati – in quo humanitas non solum medium est connexionis inferioris et superioris naturae... sed et dei creatoris: cf. *Liber de praedicatione* Dist. 2 pars 2 sermo 46 de dominica (Cod. Cus. 118 f. 127 va; ROL IV 183) et passim. In accordance with his apologetic aims, Lull argued by means of the correlatives not only for the "natural" dynamism of the Trinity ad intra, but also in his doctrine of creation and the Incarnation for a "contingent" dynamism ad extra. He maintained that in the Incarnation the first cause – God as creator – achieves concord with its effect – the entire creation – through participation in the infinite person of Christ (cf. Colomer 104–113).

104–105) cf. *Liber de mixtionibus principiorum* (ined.) and Cusanus' excerpts (Colomer 157–164).

115 3–7) triplex est posse, scilicet posse facere, posse fieri et posse factum: cf. *Liber propter bene intelligere, diligere et possificare* (ROL I 189–199) and Cusanus' excerpt (Colomer 139) and *Liber de potestate infinita et ordinata* (ROL I 237–262) and Cusanus' excerpts (Colomer 138 f.). The term "possificare" derives from the application of the correlatives to the absolute principle "potestas": possificans, possificatum, possificare. It is significant that Cusanus still reflects this Lullian idea in this late work. Whereas the *De docta ignorantia* of 1440 emphasized that God is indefinable and inconceivable by the human intellect, the *De posset* of 1460 began to explore the notion of posse as a positive expression of the divine nature. This key concept finds a typically Lullian development here (cf. Colomer 95).

121 1–16) ordinem prioritatis et posterioritatis: cf. the Lullian theory of the proper (natural) and appropriated (contingent) qualities of the elements (cf. R. Pring-Mill, *El Microcosmos lullia* [Palma de Mallorca 1961] 59–70).

De apice theoriae 7 17) sentiri nec imaginari nec intelligi potest: cf. *Disputatio Petri cum Raimundo* (ined.) and Cusanus' excerpts (Colomer 143). Lull developed a method of ascent by way of a double transcensus: in a first stage the intellect transcends sense-knowledge and the phantasms of the imagination; in a second stage the intellect transcends its own rational knowledge to arrive at purely intellectual knowledge. Cusanus proposed a similar method, but was able to distinguish more clearly between ratio and intellectus (cf. Colomer 76–81).

15 19–20) vides . . . omnem differentiam transire in concordantiam: cf. supra *De ven. sap.* 35 11–17.

26 1–4) nec sunt tria posse, sed idem posse est facientis, factibilis et connexionis: cf. supra *De ven. sap.* 115 3–7.

These addenda to the apparatus fontium represent not simply additional authorities embellishing Cusanus' text, but rather an original interpretation of Lull's thought and at the same time basic and permanent elements in Cusanus's own synthesis.

Professor Dr. Charles Lohr

LENZEN, WOLFGANG

Belief, Knowledge and Probability. Systems of Epistemic Logic

[“Glauben, Wissen und Wahrscheinlichkeit. System der epistemischen Logik”]

Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1980; 360 pp.

In 1978 Wolfgang Lenzen collated the results of a new and rapidly growing branch of modal logic in his book *Recent Work in Epistemic Logic* (Amsterdam, *Acta Philosophica Fennica*). Now, in this book he reports the results of his own four-year enquiry. Its main aim is to develop a combined system of epistemic and doxastic logic (i. e. a logic of *knowledge* and *belief* statements), expressed in carefully developed calculi. The book belongs to the Springer Library of Exact Philosophy, which is a continuation of the famous *Wiener Kreis* and, accordingly, has high standards of rigour. Nevertheless, Lenzen is of the opinion that his book can also be read by those who have no previous knowledge of logic. But it does not make easy reading, and one can only admire a reader who manages to solve all the tasks left to him.

Aristotle, Peter of Spain, Buridan and Duns Scotus may be mentioned as pioneers of epistemic logic. In our century, Russell and Carnap have done

some pioneering work, and Hintikka's *Knowledge and Belief* (Ithaca 1962) is something of a milestone. In many respects, Lenzen's logical systems are a further development and systematization of Hintikka's work.

The central idea of modal logic is that the way in which certain operators – the modal ones – apply to propositions and yield logically valid propositions, is not only dependent on the truth-values of the original propositions but essentially on their meanings. So e. g. the truth of "It is necessary that p " depends on whether p is true and what " p " means. For epistemic logic, the so-called verbs of *propositional attitudes* are in the key position: " a knows that p ", " a considers it possible/believes/is convinced that p ", " a thinks that p is at least as probable as q ", etc. Epistemic logic aims at a systematic analysis of the class of propositions, which are true only due to the meaning of logical and epistemic terms occurring in them, e. g. "If a knows that p , then p is true". The modals "possible" and "necessary" of standard modal logic have as their counterparts in epistemic logic "believes that" and "knows that".

Historically speaking, the adequate logical representation of many ordinary expressions has turned out to be controversial; for example, the points of contact and the differences between "if – then"-expressions and logical implication are well-known to be problematic. It is to be expected that many of the conclusions of epistemic logic will cause corresponding troubles, but Lenzen thinks that his theorems capture the essential features of the key words, as these are employed in ordinary language. Perhaps one of the most controversial of his views is that one knows that p only if one is ready to maintain that one knows that p . Hilpinen and v. Kutschera have suggested counter-examples to this, and as Lenzen admits, there may be alternative interpretations of the concept of knowledge, along the lines of such examples. As another controversial conclusion, one may mention theorem (7) – all theorems are numbered in Lenzen's book – according to which it is the case that if a person considers a state of affairs possible, then it is possible. As Lenzen concedes, this is not true on the interpretation of "possible" as "physically possible" (e. g. a constructor of a perpetual motion machine considers his aim to be realizable, whereas it is in fact physically impossible to realize). The question of the sense in which theorem (7) holds is a very intricate one.

The short chapter 5 contains an interesting discussion of epistemic paradoxes. Difficult problems of quantification into modal contexts and of referring, naming and characterizing are treated in chapter 7 from many aspects. These paradoxes and problems, together with those connected with the correct interpretation of the theorems, mean that epistemic logic is in urgent need of philosophical discussion. Lenzen's calculi, on the other hand, deal with many intrinsically important mathematical problems.

Arto Siitonen

OESCH, MARTIN

The Problem of Action. A System-Historical Study on Fichte's First Theory of Science

[“Das Handlungsproblem. Ein systemgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur ersten Wissenschaftslehre Fichtes”]

Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1981; 203 pp.

The purpose of this work is to draw attention to the psychological aspect in Fichte's early philosophy, on the assumption that even the 1794/95 version of his *Theory of Science* reveals that his speculations, for all his claims to be operating beyond all experience, cannot function without the assumption of an element of content. The author's attention, following in the wake of R. Hönigswald's *Grundfragen der Erkenntnistheorie* of 1931, is aimed at establishing a philosophically tenable, critical concept of psychological reality. Such a concept, at which the author himself can do no more than hint, is, according to Hönigswald, characterized by two considerations, firstly that it is time that imparts to experience, thinking, etc. the nature of psychological actuality, and secondly that it is this psychological reality that implies the individual self. Both of these considerations the author sees as being present in early Fichte, and to support this interpretation, which, it must be admitted, is wholly at variance with Fichte's own understanding of what he wrote, the author adduces a number of clues, as follows. A contemporary of Fichte's, J. B. Schad, whom Fichte credited with a genuine understanding of his *Theory of Science*, uses, in his interpretation of Fichte, the central concept “action” (*Handlung*) in such a way that it is psychologically describable; and the author traces this (for him) psychological feature back to C. A. Crusius and his influence in the eighteenth century – an influence that might well have reached Fichte via Platner, Lavater and Bonnet. The efficacy of this tradition of thought, that still uses central concepts like activity, action, impulse and force in a generally unproblematical and unreflecting manner, not only explains the vast differences between Fichte and the transcendental conceptuality of the Kantian tradition, but also casts doubt on Fichte's claim to be transmitting transcendental thought in the only appropriate form. If the author's thesis is correct, one would have to correct the view of Fichte prevalent today as a transcendental philosopher. But this in turn would require exhaustive investigations that would have to incorporate the role of the transcendental principle of action which has in the meantime become apparent (cf. F. Kaulbach, *Das Prinzip Handlung in der Philosophie Kants*, (1978), confront this with the psychologically orientated traditions indicated above and at least establish a discussion between the two schools of thought. The work in hand, however, only demonstrates Fichte's use of language and establishes links and bound-

aries between "action" and such other terms as "impulse", "force", "deed" and "production", but does little to define the problem that is posed by the concept "action" itself. The investigation limits itself to a commentary on the three basic principles of the *Theory of Science* of 1794/95, concentrating even there on points of explication. It questions Fichte's claim to have deduced the *Theory of Science* from these three principles and points out that Fichte's claim to justification always remains, in spite of everything, firmly anchored in the realm of psychological facticity, in that the structure of the self-determining "I" preserves subjectivist features. A glance at the early Schelling's criticism of Fichte and at the Fichteans A. L. Hülsen and Berger lends support to the thesis of the early Fichte's subjectivism.

Dr. Norbert Herold

RUEGG, WALTER - DIETER WUTTKE (Eds.)

Ethics in Humanism

["Ethik im Humanismus"]

(Beiträge zur Humanismusforschung, Bd. 5)

Boppard: Harald Boldt Verlag; 146 pp.

Interest in ethical questions is growing apace with progressive, global "enlightenment of consciousness" (A. Weber). It has long been a commonplace of cultural criticism that the moral consciousness of modern man has not kept abreast with his technical abilities and their creations: or, to put it the other way round, man and humanity face suffering and danger because of the secret, but ill-founded hope that all problems can in the long run be solved by technical, i. e. comfortable, time- and energy-saving methods for which moral effort, or even a change of mind, is not (any longer) necessary. In short: the universal spread of technical thought is suppressing the facts of moral consciousness.

That this thesis is not arbitrary and unfounded is shown by the detailed evocation of the tendencies and principles of the Age of Humanism (ca. 1300-1600), which in its harking back to Antiquity (Graeco-Roman literature and philosophy) reaches a climax in the so-called "Renaissance" (the "Quattrocento" (15th century) and "Cinquecento" (16th century), to use Vasari's names for these years) and which forms the basic, underlying pattern of modern European, western thought. The volume here discussed, "Ethics in Humanism", is eminently suited to provide a lucid introduction to this context with the aid of seven articles on (very) specific subjects. How very much ethics is bound up with the concept of person is revealed by the distribution of the

individual studies: five contributions are expressly concerned with authors who in their own time were "best-sellers" (to use the language of the present) and who were rediscovered in translation or who made names for themselves as translators: Charles B. Schmitt (whose article is the only one in English) offers introductory reflections on "Aristotle's Ethics in the Sixteenth Century"; Vito R. Giustiniani discusses "Plutarch and the Ethics of Humanism"; Agostino Sottili "Ambrogia Traversari's Contribution to the Reception of Patristic Literature"; Gerhard Klecha examines the "Moral-Philosophical Terminology of Albrecht von Eyb in the 'Mirror of Manners'"; finally Sem Dresden carries out a comparative analysis of "Christian Philosophy and Humanistic Ethics in Erasmus" and in so doing arrives at some interesting details of the modernistic, rationalistic, and moralistic re-interpretations of the conventional image of Erasmus, at the centre of which, according to the author, the "philosophia Christi" has its proper place.

Of more general historical interest are the two introductory studies of Walter Ruegg, "Christian Brotherliness and Humanistic Friendship" and August Buck, "Ethics in Humanistic Programmes of Studies"; nevertheless they cast much light on the situation of the present day, which is plagued by the "Dialectics of Enlightenment", and in which pedagogics must first (so it would appear) laboriously rediscover the connection between ethics and education. Common to all the contributions is the fact that the hypotheses, which here cannot be even briefly enumerated, have been diligently compiled from the sources with philosophical meticulousness, and that ethical problems are to an eminent degree problems of linguistic meaning which emerge in particularly acute form when basic ethical concepts (such as virtue, excellence, happiness, and justice) are transferred from one cultural milieu to another. In this respect the (postulated) ethic of the Age of Humanism serves as an exemplary model for the convergence of otherwise separate civilisations in a (not-yet achieved) ethic of world civilisation. In an world calamitously in the throes of disunity and discord, the theme "Ethics in Humanism" is suited to raise that Human, All Too Human, which binds all men, into the clear light of consciousness. When one has carefully examined and contemplated all the contributions and only then tests one's own judgement by reading the preface of the editor Wuttke as a summary, will one readily agree with the central thesis that the goal of Renaissance humanism was the "ethicizing of all spheres of life", for which "the revival of Antiquity and the forming of the ideal of language" were to provide the means. Admittedly the ambivalent double consequence of humanism's postulates also belongs to this picture; a side-effect of theirs has been to bring about what is for modern times the first theoretical emancipation of the individual from society; with the thesis that "what is moral goes without saying" the course was thereby irreversibly set for that latter-day paganism in

the form of the ethical levity of "socially" perverted ethics; a late consequence is that the Myth of Sisyphus henceforth becomes paradigmatic for the "ethicizing of all spheres of life".

Professor Dr. Werner S. Nicklis

SCHLUCHTER, WOLFGANG

The Development of Occidental Rationalism. An Analysis of Max Weber's History of Society

[*"Die Entwicklung des okzidentalen Rationalismus. Eine Analyse von Max Webers Gesellschaftsgeschichte"*]

Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Verlag; IX, 280 pp.

Schluchter sees his book primarily as an interpretation of Weber, if not of that writer's total production, at least of his underlying stance, namely to see sociology as a "social history of the Occident" (p. 38). The factual point of reference determining Weber's construction of this social history is, according to Schluchter, the "modern occidental rationalism of world domination" (*ibid.*), and Schluchter's methodological aim is to determine the status of this history of society within the framework of a theory of evolution (pp. VIII and 22).

The marginal nature of the term history of society in Weber is evidence enough that Schluchter is not merely going to interpret Weber, but go beyond him. His reconstruction of the factual material and his "explication" of the conceptual and methodological material owes more, on his own admission, to the way Weber poses the problem and less to his solution to it (p. 14), which Schluchter frequently tries to improve on by having recourse to arguments taken from the "functionalistic" theory of evolution (Luhmann, Parsons) and the theory of evolution "guided by development logic" (Habermas). Hence Schluchter's book provides an interpretation of Weber approached with rationalization in mind and making claims that go beyond Weber. One of these is a reconstruction or, where necessary, supplementation and improvement of the conceptual and theoretical base ("factual contents") on which Weber tries to present and to explain the development and at the same time the peculiarities of occidental rationalism (or more precisely the rationalizations that have become accepted in certain partial aspects of western societies). Another is to demonstrate in outline a "macro-sociological research programme" (p. VIII) that is at least equal in status to other contemporary theories of social development. (Schluchter mentions four of these: "objectivist philosophies of history"; functionalist theories of evolution as well as those inspired by development logic; "typologically comparative universal histories"

– If.) Let us summarize briefly the decisive steps in Schluchter's reconstruction attempt.

Schluchter begins with the demonstration that "rationality" is Weber's "central problem" (p. 19, n. 12) and that the development and specific nature of occidental rationalism makes up his "universal historical problem" (pp. 15 ff.). Meritoriously, Schluchter elaborates the implications for value-theory and for the philosophy of history of the pride of place Weber gives to occidental civilization and to the rationalism that has moulded it – implications which "the *conscious* civilized man, if he is to remain loyal to himself, can no longer fail to live up to" (p. 34). Be this as it may, as Schluchter further points out, Weber neither tried, on the basis of a philosophy of values, to demonstrate the superiority of this rationalism over and above other rationalisms, nor did he single it out, in terms of either the philosophy of history or universal history, as an end-point or even a necessary transitional stage in the history of mankind. Instead, operating with a "minimal programme of evolutionary theory" (p. 37), he portrayed and appraised it as part of a social history of the West, analysing the "sequence" of structural principles as they emerge from the problem without any claim to universal historical import (p. 13).

The bulk of the book is taken up with a theoretical explication of the framework of reference of this programme, which according to Schluchter comprises a theory not only of social change, but also of social development. This theory is concerned with Weber's basic assumptions and concepts (pp. 39 ff.) and social principles of structure (pp. 59 ff.), and elaborates a series of typologies (for the most part interpreted from the point of view of evolutionary theory) of forms of order, morality, law and domination (pp. 59–203). The following proposals and claims seem to me to be decisive for Schluchter's plan: the claim that material and ideological factors are in principle of equal importance for social development, although the "pioneering" function (p. 39) of ideas can occasionally appear to give these prominence; the distinction between core structure, structural principles and structural forms of societies (the core-structure of a society as "anchored in the highest level of aggregation", p. 58, is founded on structural principles with their ideal and institutional manifestations, which determine a given society's possibilities and scope for development and thus pave the way for various structural forms and give rise to a society's fundamental problems of legitimation and order); the postulation of a "law of the paradoxical nature of effect as opposed to intention" (p. 226), in other words that the unforeseen effects of heterogeneous intentions as realized in different social subgroups can explain the transition from one structural principle to another; and finally the introduction of three levels of development in social history, that preceding a highly developed civilization, that of the highly developed civilization itself, and the modern one

(p. 199). It is the transition from the second to the third level of development in occidental history that is marked by the historical problem, the demonstration of which is used by Schluchter (and before him by Weber) to explain the concept that he has elaborated, in that he points out "the significant role of the reformation", i. e. of ascetic Protestantism, "in the transition to modernity" (p. 204 ff.).

The book has already earned its author much praise, but also criticism on a massive scale¹. But for anyone interested in Weber's work, as well as in the subjects of evolution, rationalization and differentiation in general the acumen and originality of Schluchter's approach makes his book obligatory reading. This having been said, I make no secret of my own considerable reservations about this work, reservations that are not merely directed at a few easily rectifiable defects such as insufficiently precise definition and delimitation of concepts (this is true precisely of such central concepts as level of development, core structure, structural principle, structural form, configuration of (partial) order and the like) or the introduction of the three levels of social development, which, though of no inconsiderable importance for the argument, are never further explained. More seriously, a number of important questions are left open. For instance: What *exactly* is the real difference between occidental and other forms of rationalism? Or again: It is all very well for Weber as well as Schluchter to lay down as a principle the law of the paradoxical nature of the effect as opposed to the intention, or to maintain that in principle ideal, legal, political and economic partial processes are equal in rank (p. 254); but do they not nevertheless overestimate the significance of ideal, or more accurately ideal and normative factors for the history of society in general and for the evolution of occidental rationalism in particular? And finally: does this study not fail to live up to Weber's claim and renounce any deeper understanding of occidental civilization and its rationalism by virtually not taking into consideration at all the specific social organization of labour, namely the *capitalist* mode of production?

Dr. Hajo Schmidt

¹ See N. Luhmann's essay on Schluchter's book in *Soziologische Revue* 3 (1980) 243-250, R. Münch's detailed review in *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 32 (1980) 774-786, and those of G. Hauck and V. M. Bader in *Das Argument* 123 (1980) 688-698.

SCHMITZ, RUDOLF – FRITZ KRAFFT (Eds.)

Humanism and the Natural Sciences

["Humanismus und Naturwissenschaften"]
(Beiträge zur Humanismusforschung, Bd. VI)
Boppard: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1980; 210 pp.

A curious phenomenon in recent developments in the sciences is that the humane and social sciences are tending towards mathematicization and formalisation while the natural sciences are turning back to the histories of their respective subjects and concepts. When "scientific revolutions" were described by Thomas S. Kuhn as changes of paradigm and by K. P. Popper as asymptotic approximation to the truth with the aid of hypotheses, both used examples and material which pertained above all to the history of science or, more exactly, the history of the natural sciences, in order to demonstrate the fruitfulness of further enquiries into problems as they relate to the history of ideas.

This way of self-understanding and self-interpretation on the part of the natural sciences becomes peculiarly fascinating when it leads back to the circumstances of their origins in history. That the Age of Humanism (15th – 16th century) was in kind of "pivotal time" of still undeveloped possibilities, is shown by the 11 papers assembled in "Humanism and the Natural Sciences", which were delivered in 1977 at the annual conference of the Senate Commission for Research into Humanism of the German Federal Association for the Encouragement of Research¹. R. Hookyaas ("From the *Physika* to Physics"), Peter Dilg ("Botany as an Aspect of Humanism, Humanism as an Aspect of Botany"), Günther Hamann ("The Cartographic and Real Conception of the World in the Renaissance"), Elizabeth Rücker ("Early Humanists in Nuremberg and their Preoccupation with Geography"), as well as Johannes Willers and Friedemann Hellwig ("The Terrestrial Globe of Martin Behaim"), each concern themselves with the humanistic prehistory of an established (natural) science; early-modern alchemical literature and its mythological background is analysed by Joachim Telle ("Mythology and Alchemy"), and Wolfgang Hübner examines "The Reception of Manilius' Astrological Didactic Poem in the Italian Renaissance".

The other papers discuss the roles, relationships, activity, works, and influence of humanistic stars of the first magnitude, such as Regiomontanus (1436–1485), Peurbach (1424–1461), Celtis (1459–1508), two contemporary city-doctors of Nuremberg, Schedel and Hieronymus Münzer, who have immortalized themselves through the famous "Schedelian World-Chronicle"

¹ Senatskommission für Humanismusforschung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft.

of 1493, as well as Martin Behaim, who is intimately bound up with the Portuguese voyages of world-exploration.

The only article written in English, that of Robert S. Westman ("Humanism and Scientific Roles in the Sixteenth Century") is remarkable: it employs the sociology of knowledge and science and the theory of roles to cast light on the question why it was precisely astronomy which enjoyed so high an esteem among humanists and why so many Renaissance scholars united medicine and mathematics in their person. Westman also adduces data which cast light on the otherwise little-appreciated special role of the German universities in the history of the universities of Europe.

A feature common to all the contributions is the careful evaluation of sources which, though containing a wealth of information, are little known and scarcely used, as well as the sensitive, intuitive reconstruction of an epoch in western thought which is even now fascinating and in the course of which natural sciences could still be cultivated from a holistic viewpoint, above all with a view to the "condition humaine", and were more concerned with synthesis than with analysis. Reading this book will be a delight for all who consider it a vital question whether a thinking which is scientifically-analytically oriented towards measurement, number, causal nexus, and methodically instrumented hypothesizing can find its corrective in a humanistic culture of language, a corrective which will not allow the subjective character of Nature and hence of Man to go under in the grand business of objectification pursued by value-free, technological thought.

The peculiar charm of this exemplary study is due to its colourful illustration of the two faces of the Age of Humanism insofar as it postulates a philanthropy which is synthetic and free of Eurocentric passions and narrow denominationalism on the one hand, while at the same time preparing for that alliance between natural science, mathematics, and technology which – when measured against the standard of world and human history, the values and norms of non-European cultures and their human costs – loses its character as "hub of the world".

Professor Dr. Werner S. Nicklis

VIERHAUS, RUDOLF (Ed.)

Bourgeois Values and Mentality in the Age of Enlightenment

[*"Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im Zeitalter der Aufklärung"*]

(*Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung*, Bd. VII)

Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider Verlag, 1981; 343 pp.

This volume of the eminent series of *Wolfenbüttel Studies in Enlightenment*, under the editorship of Rudolf Vierhaus, combines the contributions to the

1978 Wolfenbüttel Symposium by thirteen scholars. Among its merits is the fact that these studies draw on different disciplines, such as Literature, History, and Philosophy. The thematic variety as well as the unity are best represented by the chapter headings of these presentations, published under the auspices of the Lessing Academy, which are: "Bourgeois Character and Humanity" by Manfred Riedel; "Aspects of Bourgeois Political Philosophy" by Hermann Lübbecke; "Voltaire's Liberal Upper-Middle-Class Mind and Rousseau's Petit-Bourgeois Egalitarianism" by Iring Fetscher; "Subject – Bourgeois – Citizen: Observations on Late Eighteenth Century Legal Terminology" by Michael Stolleis; "The Troubled Bourgeois: Bourgeois and Literature in the Eighteenth Century" by Peter Michelsen; "The Rendering of Social Reality in Early Domestic Tragedy" by Horst Günther; "Bourgeois Sensibility?" by Gerhard Sauder; "Lessing between Bourgeoisie and Academe" by Wilfried Barner; "Wieland between Bourgeoisie and Nobility" by Sven-Aage Jørgensen; "Thomas Abbt: Patriot, Citizen, and Bourgeois Consciousness" by Hans Erich Bödeker; "Bourgeoisie and Bourgeois Character as Represented by Christian Garve" by Günter Schulz; "'Traditional' Collectivity and 'Modern' Individuality: Some Questions and Theses for Historical Research in Socialization" by Jürgen Schlumbohm; and "The Codification of Bourgeois Consciousness in the Late German Enlightenment: Carl Friedrich Bahrdt's 'Handbook of Morals for the Middle Class' of 1789" by Ulrich Herrmann. The translation, i. e., clarification of these titles is admittedly inadequate in several places since some of the concepts involved seem to resist definition in a language other than German. The same is true, occasionally, regarding terminology and language as they occur in some of the articles under those headings.

This book in its diversity, nevertheless, attempts to achieve a valid typology (*Bürger*, *Bürgertum*, *Bürgerlichkeit* etc.), and to associate it with the Enlightenment, which is perceived as an age at the threshold between tradition and modern times and as a movement borne by a class whose moral posture and progressive political mind were by no means homogeneous and unambiguous. Cultural-historical and sociological connotations of key concepts are explored with great care as they apply on eighteenth century terms. And, as problems are approached, new questions may arise, such as the validity of the juxtaposition of *bürgerlich* and *vernünftig*, for example. The method of these pursuits, however, is quite factual – so much so that at times we follow a refreshingly substantial and highly informative analysis, then wonder what conclusions *we* are invited to derive. A striking blend of methodological positivism with the foundation of critical premises in the historical recurs in several chapters. These studies offer vast areas of inquiry in many provinces including cosmopolitanism, emancipation, education, and scholarship itself – as in the

excellent treatise connected with the reflexions on Lessing. They also hold the potential for reservations, and the book in its entirety as well as in various details promotes discussion, for instance as it ends by way of a challenge to the reader, effective beyond the last page on Bahrdt's code of morals – the result of skilful editorial arrangement.

Professor Dr. G. Baumgaertel

WIELAND, GEORG

Ethica-Scientia practica. The Beginnings of Philosophical Ethics in the 13th Century

[“Ethica-Scientia practica. Die Anfänge der philosophischen Ethik im 13. Jahrhundert”]

(Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Neue Folge, Bd. 21)

Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981; IV, 327 pp.

This volume presents a detailed survey of the preconditions and the cultural framework of the history of ideas which led to the origins of ethics as an autonomous type of doctrine within the transitional phase from early to mature Scholasticism, i. e. from the 12th century to the middle of the 13th in occidental Europe. This means that the internal structure of ethics as a genuine *philosophical* discipline was established during this period. As Wieland is able to demonstrate, by relying on broad material in the shape of numerous contemporary translations, anthologies and commentaries, this development had to be achieved and stabilised against contrarily oriented positions of contemporary theology, as well as of the canon of the humanities, i. e. the liberal arts.

Historically the basis of the whole movement is the reception of the philosophy, and especially of the ethics, i. e. the *Nikomachean Ethics*, of Aristotle during the period of one and a half centuries. Whereas ethics, at the beginning of this process, had to be classified as a strictly dependent discipline, whether in theology or the liberal arts, at the end it had emancipated itself to achieve the status of scientific, i. e. systematic reflexion, which meant that a doctrine was adumbrated which in principle was independent not only of theological, but also metaphysical, i. e. theoretical, foundations; at least the way in this direction was indicated. Thus, the separation of the theoretical and practical perspectives in the philosophy of the future also started up at this time. The period during which this movement was started, and achieved its first great systematical success and its first findings of especial interest, runs from the “ethica vetus”, as early as the middle of the 12th century, up to the translations of Robert Grosseteste and the commentary of Albertus Magnus, the teacher of

Thomas Aquinas, whose work subsequently was, in principle, ethics as genuinely independent of ontology.

Thus, the author in this investigation shows us a fundamental phase of the early evolution of the philosophical spirit of occidental Europe after the transition from Antiquity to Christianity. Seen thus, the originality of the new thinkers becomes clear in both their reception and creative transformation of the Aristotelian ideas. The book fills a gap in the history of medieval thought as well as in the special history of ethics. It shows great accuracy in using the original sources and the literature relating to its topics. This book is a "must" for all those interested in the development of medieval thought.

Professor Dr. Harald Holz

WINNER, LUDWIG

Atonement as an Inter-Personal Exercise

[*"Sühne im interpersonalen Vollzug"*]

Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 187 pp.

Taking as his starting-point the "immediate moral consciousness of man" the author tries to find a basis for the phenomenon of atonement (27). In this connexion atonement is a component "of Man's ethically relevant self-expression" (*ibid.*). The purely inductive method as a means to his end is dismissed from the outset, as it seems impossible to comprehend all cases concerned with atonement (28). The meaning of atonement that, to the author's mind, determines present-day usage is "the action that the offended person expects from the agent or offending person. In this sense atonement is understood as "satisfaction" or "recompense" for a certain action' (30).

In the second chapter (117 ff.) of this study, which appears as part of a series of theological writings, the author tries to show that atonement can never be practised by the person who has himself incurred guilt, but needs a higher authority. With reference to the history of the Jewish religion he speaks extensively of the "Ebed-Jahve", the "servant of God" in Isaiah Ch. 13, who has taken on himself representatively the guilt of all men (147-153). The author sees Christ as continuing this tradition of taking on himself and atoning for the guilt of all mankind. He starts off therefore by pointing out that the whole "sin and damnation complex" (160) can in principle be done away with altogether, and that it only needs a certain moral disposition on man's part, here the "confession of Jesus Christ" (161), for him to be able to participate in this state of affairs.

Winner speaks a lot about "self-realization" (101-108 and *passim*). This takes place primarily, as is generally acknowledged, on the "interpersonal" level, i. e. in the form of an exchange between various people, in conversation and

action. The very first push I get towards becoming a person I get from someone else, namely my mother (50). The continuation of this process up to maturity remains linked to the "community": "Man only becomes Man among men" (Fichte) (52).

Given the way life is constructed, the individual always gets into conflict with others in this process and incurs guilt. Judaeo-Christian thought, however, does not advise man to take this guilt on himself and bear it to the end in a solitary labour of Sisyphus.

Since man stands in a relationship to an "absolute Person" (83), atonement can be achieved in "interpersonal practice", i. e. through man turning to this "absolute person". The "servant of God" of the Old Testament, as well as Jesus, have, it is shown, created conditions such that a person who has incurred guilt can escape from his entanglement if only he is ready to be accepted into the "love of God" (165) offered him by Jesus Christ.

Dr. Johannes Balthasar

WOLF, URSULA

Possibility and Necessity in Aristotle and Today

["Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit bei Aristoteles und heute"]

München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag; 449 pp.

This investigation discusses in Part I the Aristotelian theory of possibility and necessity, and in Part II the contemporary understanding of these. It analyses the differences and connexions between (on the one hand) the various ways in which Aristotle uses expressions of possibility and necessity and (on the other) the modern problem of modality, which has in the meantime become a very disparate one. A historical treatment is deliberately avoided, and the whole emphasis is laid on a study of individual specific usage-areas of the expressions "possible" and "necessary". Moreover the division into predicative and propositional modal concepts remains fundamental for the whole presentation.

The writer sees Aristotle as treating the problem of possibility according to three main points of view: the kinetic concept of ability, the ontological or categorial possibility, and the propositional expression of possibility (as sentence-operator). As far as the expression of necessity is concerned, Aristotle examined (beside the absolute necessity in the description of a process of becoming) two fundamentally different kinds of necessary connexion, namely cyclically necessary connexions between events, and connexions between predicates which are necessary by definition. Furthermore the concept of necessity gains importance as an hypothetically propositional expression for the definition of the ontological concept of *dynamis*, with particular reference not only to the *Metaphysics* and *Physics*, but also to the work *De generatione et*

corruptione. The writer is very critical of Stallmach's remarks on the concept of ability and stresses that for Aristotle there is no separation between active and passive *dynamis*. On the other hand, she attaches no comparable importance to the ontological concept of *dynamis*, to which Aristotle himself and traditional interpreters of his works have accorded central importance in connexion with the concepts *energeia* and *entelecheia*, contending that in modern discussion of the subject this concept has ceased to have any existence. What does, however, seem to her of great importance is the question, much discussed at the moment in the interpretation of Aristotelian concepts of modality, as to whether these concepts are extensional and frequentative or semantic and analytic. A decision on this depends on whether concepts of modality are understood as referring to events or to matters of fact. This question is discussed in connexion with the Aristotelian theory of truth.

The more extensive second part first considers propositional modal concepts: as epistemic, logical, metaphysical, causal and factual modalities, their turns to predicative expressions of possibility and necessity that cannot be shown to be modal as they refer to human abilities, especially those of a physical technical and linguistic kind. It follows an investigation on causal abilities and natural laws. In addition, the question of human freedom of action is investigated in connexion with the problem of determinism. The starting-point is the interpretation of these various partial meanings, especially in the theories of Kripke, Plantinga and von Wright, with reference to the most important interrelations and (as far as possible) parallels between these and Aristotelian theory. A clear distinction becomes evident between the classical and the modern view in the case of epistemic modal expressions. Today they are understood as indicating the extent to which a state of affairs is taken to be assured and thus contain a statement about a circumstance which is determined by our knowledge. Aristotle, on the other hand, knows of no such modal concept, for the Aristotelian *episteme* never refers to something that is merely probable and knowable or that is related to our prevailing state of knowledge. *Episteme* in the actual sense exists for Aristotle only in regard to something that can not only not be otherwise, insofar as it is *we* who know it, but that from factual reasons cannot be otherwise. The aspect of subjective knowability does not occur in Aristotle, so that necessity and actual knowability are one and the same thing and are defined precisely in terms of one another. On the other hand, the writer demonstrates a number of points in common between the Aristotelian view and modern theories in the predicative realm, finding for example (just to mention this important topic of the book in conclusion) the present day concern with power-predicates and disposition-predicates having their counterpart in Aristotle's concept of kinetic ability.

Ingeborg Seifert

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Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Collected Works (Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Vol. I, 6; **Works 1799–1801**) ["Johann Gottlieb Fichte. J. G. Fichte-Gesamtausgabe der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band I, 6: **Werke 1799–1801**"] Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog Verlag, 1981; 470 pp.

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HISTORY

Book Notes

ALTER, PETER

Science, State, Patrons. The Origin of Modern Scientific Policy in Great Britain 1850 – 1920

[“Wissenschaft, Staat, Mäzene. Anfänge moderner Wissenschaftspolitik in Großbritannien 1850 – 1920”]

(Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, Bd. 12)
Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1982; 327 pp.

It should be observed at the outset that the term science is restricted to the field of natural sciences, which have been coming increasingly to the fore since the nineteenth century, particularly by comparison with the humanities.

The author has determined that the promotion of science in Great Britain in the course of the nineteenth century was mainly carried out in one of four ways: 1) through the universities; 2) through private patrons; 3) through state institutions; 4) through science's own independent organisations. By science's own organisations is meant in Great Britain the numerous local and national societies owing their existence to private initiative, thus the Royal Society of London (1660), the Literary and Philosophical Society in Manchester (1781) and in Liverpool (1793), the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1783) and the Lunar Society in Birmingham (1768). Among the societies more closely connected with one specific field were the Geological Society (1807), the Royal Geographical Society (1830), the Chemical Society (1841) and the Physical Society (1874).

According to a list in the Year-Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland in its first edition in 1884, there were a total of about 500 scientific societies and institutions covering all specialised fields in the United Kingdom. In London alone, which admittedly as the capital had a dominating position with regards to science and scientific organisations, there were 54 natural science societies.

However, impressive these figures may be, nevertheless the impulses emanating from the private scientific societies were not sufficient to put British science on an equal footing with comparable states, particularly Germany and the USA. But it was not until the end of the nineteenth century, as the inadequacy of the scientific situation in Great Britain became ever more

apparent, particularly with regard to the development of new scientific industries, that the arguments of the British scientific lobby, which traced Britain's unfavourable economic development back to the lack of scientific research, found broad resonance. The British model for the promotion of science as it existed in the nineteenth century underwent a change from the turn of the century onwards, in the course of which the promotion of science in Britain was placed on a new basis, i. e. the weighting of the various promoters of science was placed differently from before.

British scientific policy, the decisive ideas of which had been developed since the turn of the century, made sure that after the allocation of public funds for science also scientific questions were decided exclusively in accordance with scientific aspects, furthermore by committees having a majority of scientists. In Great Britain it proved possible to prevent the state from keeping science under its tutelage. Scientific autonomy with regards to politics, but also with regards to business, remained the principle of British scientific policy. The successes since then as a result of this certainly justify this scientific policy. It should be pointed out that British scientific policy, the principles of which are still applicable today and which were developed about the turn of the century, was initially oriented towards the Prusso-German model for the promotion of science, the reasons being the efficiency resulting from this for German science and at the same time the effects this had on the German economy.

Professor Dr. Konrad Fuchs

BRAUNERT, HORST

Politics, Law and Society in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. Collected Articles and Lectures

["Politik, Recht und Gesellschaft in der griechisch-römischen Antike. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Reden"]

(Kieler Historische Studien, Bd. 26)

Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1980; 345 pp.

NIPPEL, WILFRIED

Mixed Constitutional Theory and Constitutional Reality in the Graeco-Roman Period and the Early Modern Period

["Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in Antike und früher Neuzeit"]

(Bochumer Historische Studien, Band 21)

Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1980; 355 pp.

It is an interesting collection of articles which the Kiel Professor of Ancient History, Horst Braunert, who died in 1976, has bequeathed; that must be said

right at the outset. It is interesting not least because problems are dealt with in a series of articles which are not just characteristic of the Graeco-Roman period, but also again of later epochs, even if (if one may put it this way) with a different historical pattern in each case, depending on the period. Prof. Braunert thus justifiably asks in his article "Constitutional standard and constitutional reality in late republican Rome – an interpretation of Cicero's speech for Balbus" the question: "Is it not, however, making it unjustifiably topical and modern if this abstraction and the questioning implied by it are to be applied to a period of ancient history, late republican Rome, in which there was no written constitution, and thus no fixed standard of constitution? This question is asked with complete justification . . ." The question asked here in a special case is of fundamental importance; it touches on a permanently topical problem in historical studies and its employment in everyday life. This question cannot be answered on a superficial examination. Making long-past periods and their forms of expression topical and modern is permissible for poets, authors, indeed artists of all kinds and even politicians, but it is forbidden for the historian. He has to determine, analyse and describe – and that is what happens here – the facts of the period concerned, and only then can he and should he make comparisons which can be very important and revealing. He has nothing to do with modernising or making things topical. But if someone dealing with this subject then exclaims "Ah, so it was already like that then . . .", then that can only be a desirable result of the reading.

As a man of strict scholarly standards, right in his first essay "The City and City Problems in Antiquity" Prof. Braunert puts the major problem of historical studies: "The danger of unjustifiably making this topical seems to me to be particularly great in the case of such a form of questioning, and thus differences should be clearly shown first of all here . . .". This also applies to the following articles in this collection: "The Jewish Diaspora and Anti-Semitism in Antiquity", "Theory, Ideology and Utopia in Graeco-Hellenistic Civic Thinking", "The Outbreak of the Struggle between Athens and Sparta – An Ancient War-guilt Question", "Hegemonial Tendencies of the Major Hellenistic Powers in Politics and Economy", "The Mediterranean in the Politics and Economy of the Hellenistic Period". We have picked out these articles deliberately, because they are subjects which allow all kinds of links to be made to the present, but, much more important, which in periods fraught with politics and ideology demonstrate the particularly obvious danger of a possible infiltration of the past by modern forms of questioning. The deplorable habit of measuring the past by the standards of modern times used to be driven out of history students in their first semester; this danger was confronted in good time. Prof. Braunert here goes a good step further by turning the tables. In his presidential lecture for 1968, which it was not possible to

hold on account of the student disturbances in that year, "Utopia – Answers from Greek Thinking to the Challenge by Social Conditions", he sought to question the present, or challenge it to a discussion, from the perspective of antiquity; the ancient Greeks were to force people of the present to give a response. It need hardly be added that this lecture occupies an importance place in this collection of articles, which thanks to its breadth of subjects (we have already mentioned them above) can attract the attention not just of the specialist.

Wilfried Nippel also makes comparisons. He makes them between two historically complete (in so far as such a state is possible) complexes: Graeco-Roman Antiquity and the Early Modern Period in England. In both cases the question is examined as to the theory of the mixed constitution, and what the constitutional reality is – also a problem transcending time. The book is a revised version of the author's Bochum doctoral thesis. In it he examines with minute exactness – the critical apparatus alone is a very respectable achievement – ancient Greek views of constitutional matters, then presenting as an important correlative of this mixed constitutional problem the English model developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If the mixed constitution (to reduce it to a short formula) is a *mixtum compositum* of monarchic, aristocratic (or oligarchic) and democratic elements – the proportion of the individual elements is of no interest here – then it is precisely this mixture which has made history. The constitutional monarchy, which still maintains its position even in our own time, has received a powerful impetus precisely from England, but these influences come – as the author has shown – from ancient Greece, whose importance for European developments, in this case the constitutional development, is thus confirmed again.

Dr. Erich Gaenschalz

BÜSCH, OTTO – WOLFGANG NEUGEBAUER (Eds.)

Modern Prussian History, 1648–1947. An Anthology

[*"Moderne preussische Geschichte 1648–1947. Eine Anthologie"*]

Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Verlag, 1981; XXXII, 1764 pp., maps

Through the presentation of 60 selected texts, this book attempts to provide a sample of historical research on Prussia during the period indicated in its title, beginning with an essay on "The Image of Prussia in History" and ending with "The Prussian Past and German Present". The editors of the volume have divided the individual contributions into seven more or less coherent groups with the following headings: "Prussia as an Historiographical Problem"; "The Population and Social System"; "The State, the Administration and the Legal

System"; "The Military System and Social Order"; "Economic Development and Economic Policy"; "Religious and Scientific Tendencies"; "Individual Questions on Prussian History". In an appendix, the reader will find the two helpful sections "Prussia in Cartography" and "A Selected Bibliography on Prussian History".

If we ignore for a moment the different attitudes of the various authors and the resulting differences in emphasis on the theme of Prussian history, it becomes clear through the individual essays that the country grew great through the civil service of Friedrich Wilhelm I and Friedrich II as well as through their aristocracy but also by virtue of the fact that it made consistent if not unscrupulous use of the means of absolute rule. It becomes clear particularly through the person of the country squire Bismarck that a German national state could be founded on a small scale but that the Prussian aristocracy, the king and emperor held fast to the older Prussian way of thinking which is why they found themselves unable to undergo the necessary process of change leading to democracy and to industrialism. Here it is also evident why Prussia and Prussian tradition came under attack – often of a polemical nature but because of the complained-of backwardness of its representatives justifiably – during the reign of Wilhelm II and then in the Weimar Republic – which had made no real break with the past. The marked militarism as well as the autocratic nature of the system were the primary targets of that criticism.

Interesting – and often controversial – as the ideas in the individual contributions are, we can still ask if it was appropriate to include without comment the essays by Adolf v. Harnack, 1901; Erich Marcks, 1906; and Otto Hintze, 1911. Not only has research advanced considerably beyond what is presented there, but the opinions found in these essays seem dubious because of their frequent uncritical one-sidedness, not to mention the sometimes unpleasantly suggestive diction. In spite of an understanding for the reasons given in the book's introduction for its form, we can still ask why the contributions by these authors were not accompanied by a critical commentary.

These comments, however, are not meant to detract from the appreciation owing to the two editors for a work that is informative in so many ways.

Professor Dr. Konrad Fuchs

Chiron (Bulletin of the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy of the German Archaeological Institute, Vol. 11)

[“Chiron (Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Band 11)”]

München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981; 382 pp., 6 ill., 27 plates

With the latest volume of its bulletin, the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy of the German Archaeological Institute once again presents the proven balanced mixture of contributions of a more general character with those of a more specialised, in particular epigraphic, content. Taken as a whole, these 22 studies in a once again superbly produced volume once more document the very high standard maintained right from the outset by this most important German organ on Ancient History. The great and inspiring paper by Jochen Bleicken on the Roman Popular Tribune deserves special mention, with its comprehensive analysis of the political function of that institution in the Republican period (pp. 87 – 108). No less important is Géza Alföldy's important work on the status of knights among the leading classes of the Imperium Romanum (pp. 169 – 215).

The following contributions among the specialist epigraphic studies warrant special mention: Peter Herrmann: Teos and Abdera in the fifth century B. C. – A new fragment of the Teiorum Dirae (pp. 1 – 30); John Walsh: The Authenticity and the Dates of the Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree (pp. 31 – 63); Werner Eck – Edgar Pack: The Roman Heba. Material from the Preliminary Work to CIL XI Suppl. alterum (pp. 139 – 168); Karlheinz Dietz: New Evidence on the Career of Avidius Cassius? (pp. 277 – 301). Particularly impressive is the link made between epigraphic and numismatic special research in Peter Weiss's work: An Agonistic Bema and the Isopythic Games of Side (pp. 315 – 346); useful as always is the list of German language doctoral theses in Ancient History from 1980, the small number of which must, admittedly, give cause for considerable anxiety.

Professor Dr. Karl Christ

CHRIST, KARL

Roman History and the History of Scholarship on Rome. Vol. I: Roman Republic and Augustus' Principate

[“Römische Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Erster Band: Römische Republik und Augusteischer Principat”]

Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982; VIII, 275 pp.

This is the first of three volumes of essays and articles on the history of Rome and the work of scholars done on this subject by Professor K. Christ, who has

taught Ancient History for many years at the University of Marburg. Some of the papers have been published before (e. g. on Hannibal and Scipio Africanus: 1-15, on Caesar and Ariovistus: 92-133, two on Augustus: 168-182; 183-239, one on the Roman occupation of the Central Alps: 240-252), some even by the same publisher (on Hannibal: 16-41 and 42-74, see *German Studies IX*, 1976, I 207-209). Though newly set, they have been reprinted here without substantial alterations or additions.

It is the three new contributions, therefore, which deserve special attention. The first (75-91) is concerned with the leaders and the nature of several social and political commotions in antiquity. As the author shows, they cannot be understood in terms of "class-struggle"; the examples chosen – the revolt of Eunus in Sicily, the insurrection of Aristonicus of Pergamon, the movement led by Spartacus and Sextus Pompey's bid for power – each considered by itself and in its own context, rather reveal that while they have certain features in common, they differ considerably from each other with regard to their main features, the intentions of their respective leaders and the relationship between them and the mass of the rising group.

The second new paper (134-167) is a survey on recent research on the fall of the Roman republic of which, lately, particular aspects haven been studied more frequently than the phenomenon as a whole. Professor Christ examines the attempts to explain the fall as well as the dates suggested for its beginning and the reasons adduced as responsible for or contributing to it, such as e. g. the moral or constitutional decline, the activities of powerful individuals or social and economic factors, and emphasizes that no monocausal explanation can be regarded as satisfactory and acceptable for an historian.

The final chapter (253-263), dealing with the dialectic of Augustus' principate, throws into relief the very special way in which Augustus, unlike Sulla or Caesar, transformed the structure of power in the state gradually, and introduced supporting new ideas in the same cautious manner, thus guaranteeing the success of his measures.

This collection of Professor Christ's essays, like the author's earlier books, is full of new insights and stimulating suggestions. One looks forward with great interest to the two following volumes which have been announced.

Professor Dr. C. Joachim Classen

DIWALD, HELLMUT

Luther. A Biography

["Luther. Eine Biographie"]

Bergisch Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe Verlag, 1982; 384 pp.

The author, Professor of Medieval and Modern History at the University of Erlangen and author of such well-known books as "Historical Recognition" (1955), "Wilhelm Dilthey" (1963), "Wallenstein. A Biography" (1969), "Demand to be of age from 1400 till 1555" (1975), "History of the Germans" (1978) and "The Struggle for the Oceans" (1980), has as his main concern in the Luther biography here under review in particular the proof that the reformer was a revolutionary. But he was not so "by the inclinations which he had inherited; here rather it was the elements of preservation and conservation which predominated. Much more prominent in his case was the radicalising of his questioning, his passionate side-taking for the truth – or what he considered to be the truth – the unconditional fashion of standing up for that, even if it should cost his life and the whole order of the world of his day. If there is anything at all which is characteristic for the revolutionary type, then it is these characteristics.

There is no figure in the history of the world who more determinedly achieved an overthrow or caused a revolution for the sake of belief and truth, and then finally also approved 'Well, I have freshly encroached on the See of Rome'. Luther encourages violence, he hurls his appeals out into the world and means each individual with them".

If the reader disregards the description of Luther as a revolutionary, he encounters a personality in the author's account in which hefty contradictions are combined to form a tense whole of a lively religiosity; and this is what, in Prof. Diwald's opinion, is decisive for its force and wealth. The peasant's son's natural vitality and closeness to the soil are linked, according to the author, to the intellect of a scholar and the self-discipline of man. There is a natural gentleness to be found alongside a strong moral will and deep earnestness, which finds its expression in almost unlimited goodnaturedness, in tender sensitivity, but also in a passionate excess of pleasure and suffering, love and anger. There is a deep melancholy to be found at the bottom of Luther's soul, which it is also not possible to conceal by openheartedness towards men and the world, an ever recurring childlike merriness and often rough humour.

From Luther's doctrine of justification came, despite many objections, a living awareness of the sonship of God. Its effect went much further than the first shape which Lutherism took on. In fable and hymn, but especially in his Bible translation, formed on the basis of the then language of the man in the street, is shown, as Prof. Diwald justifiably observes, his great creative power.

One must be grateful to the author for the great attainment which this work represents, because it encompasses Luther in his great manysidedness and conflicting nature, but not least also for an imposing literary work: "When Luther was stamped 'A child of Satan' by the Pope there seemed hardly anything that could save him from the fate of silence and destruction. But the accused turned into an attacker, the man condemned to silence and excommunication was suddenly in the whole world – and he is still to be heard and still to be understood".

Professor Dr. Konrad Fuchs

DÜLMEN, RICHARD VON

The Origins of Early Modern Europe 1550–1648

[*"Entstehung des frühzeitlichen Europa 1550–1648"*]

Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Verlag, 1982; 495 pp.

The author has made a name for himself in the profession as the writer of numerous works in particular on ecclesiastical and reformation history. The same can also be said of the series in which this work has appeared. It provides both the interested layman and also the specialist with the required fundamental knowledge and information, whereby each volume is complete in itself and written by an acknowledged expert from at home or abroad.

The origins of early modern Europe "represents an epoch-making process" (p. 9) which it is not, however, possible to define clearly in the sense of saying when exactly was the beginning and when the end. At all events, these are long-term changes stretching from the late Middle Ages down to the late eighteenth century. The late Middle Ages and the Age of Reformation provided the foundation for the "modern world" – "modern society's first formative process and its process of coming into its own began, however, in the post-Reformation period, the period at the end of the "long" sixteenth century's (p. 10).

The work is divided up on the basis of structural aspects. Chapters 1 and 2 cover early capitalism, European expansion and the problems of a society organised in estates and of political rule. Chapter 3 covers everyday life, religion, education and art.

Finally, the fourth chapter discusses the early modern state and the crisis of the seventeenth century, the latter being shown by the example of the Netherlands, popular revolts and revolutions in the seventeenth century, then the English Revolution and the Thirty Years' War. Precisely this chapter shows that the author has almost undertaken too much. For instance, it is impossible to provide an adequate account of the events in England in just ten pages.

A well-produced, informative appendix with a subject index and bibliography round off this volume which deserves a more extensive, in some parts also more critical discussion.

Dr. Hans-Christoph Junge

FEHRENBACH, ELISABETH

From the Ancien Régime to the Congress of Vienna

[“Vom Ancien Régime zum Wiener Kongress”]

(Grundriss der Geschichte, Band 12)

München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1981; 249 pp., 1 map

This Saarbrücken professor of history, well known not least for her research work on the modernising effects of the Napoleonic policy of expansion, here presents a new volume in an up to now excellent series. As was also the case in the previous volumes in the series, a history of events is followed by an equally long research report. Professor Fehrenbach draws upon the ever more prevalent thesis of a double revolution in Europe at the turn of the century. According to this, the situation in Germany around 1800 was fundamentally affected by the industrial revolution spreading from England, and by France's politico-social revolution. A modernising impulse was to be felt on the collapse of the mostly particularistic and feudally structured Holy Roman Empire, on the foundation of the Confederation of the Rhine stretching from the kingdom of Westphalia to Bavaria, as also with the reforms in Prussia, which makes the long disputed question about the importance of the absence of a revolution in Germany appear less important today. In connection with the export of the main political ideas of the French Revolution, particularly in the sectors of national state thinking and constitutionalism, it becomes clear that the reforms in the Confederation of the Rhine were of roughly the same importance for the further development in Germany as the innovations in Prussia introduced by Stein, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst. If Prussia had taken the lead with its educational reforms and its military system, in which the militia and the principle of general conscription represented an anticipation of modern ideas, the states of the Confederation of the Rhine were in advance on constitutional questions. Here the first, although scarcely effective constitutions in 1807/08, and decisive impulses for the formation of a specifically German constitutional development for the whole nineteenth century were to be seen. The Confederation of the Rhine was not just, as nationalistic German historiography maintained for a long time, a mere recruiting territory for Napoleon. If the study, despite its great informative value, does not quite attain the quality of the other volumes in the series, then this is due to a certain

degree of imbalance. Some details on economic and internal politics appear dispensable; the political outline conditions, formed by the major powers, should have come more clearly to the fore.

Professor Dr. Günter Wollstein

GESCHE, HELGA

Rome – World Conqueror and World Administrator

["Rom – Welteroberer und Weltorganisator"]

(Beck'sche Sonderausgabe)

München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981; 293 pp., 23 ill.

H. Gesche, the Giessen specialist in ancient history, has here written a book which instead of following a chronologically narrated series of events demonstrates political mechanisms and ways of behaviour which determined the course of Roman history. In order to do this, the two principal eras – the Republic and Imperial Rome – are compared and evaluated one against the other. The author describes the Republic's policy of expansion and alliance, in relation to certain selected examples (Carthage, Greece, Asia Minor, Spain, and Gaul) and comes to the conclusion that it is not possible to perceive any purposeful political intentions which could have determined this development. Rome did not develop any theory of foreign policy, nor did it create any independent foreign-policy making body. Modern theories of imperialism (and above all, their economic aspects) are only marginally applicable to conditions in Ancient Rome. The only recognisable constant factor in Rome's expansionist policy is the close interaction of political and military aspects in line with the theory of the "just war" ('bellum iustum'), which Rome promulgated more or less widely, according to the needs of the time. For Rome's leaders, war was not only "ultima ratio", but also a basic element of politics. Considerations of security will doubtless have played their part in determining Rome's foreign policy; nonetheless, the main driving forces towards the creation of a giant empire of this kind were probably the desire for prestige and power for their own sake, together with a permanent willingness to achieve political ends by military means. In addition, there were the internal political struggles, and the constant concern for prestige on the part of the leading noble families, whose protagonists were always both political and military men. The perpetual dominance of foreign politics, and the inability to replace city-state thinking with imperial politics, led inevitably to internal disruption and to the fall of the Republic. Aside from its military aspects, the Republic on the whole has to be assessed in a less than positive light. Under Caesar and Augustus Rome began to give thought to its internal

politics, and to the process of integrating the population of its Empire. The main aim of its policies was now no longer expansion, but the security and consolidation of the Empire. The political dominance of Rome, and of Italy, was reduced; the exploitation of the provinces was halted by means of reforms in administration and taxation. Rome created a large, unified area in which its people could live and trade. There was equality before the law, and freedom of movement, and a certain amount of social mobility; the population of the whole Empire enjoyed a standard of living which was remarkable for its time. The process of non-violent Romanization which affected most of the Empire, with Latin as a "universal language", led to the cultural assimilation of the various peoples at a relatively high level, and encouraged the development of national awareness. By the time of the Monarchy, Rome had achieved an amazing metamorphosis from a large territory, created and maintained by military force alone into a systematically organised world power, which even today can serve as a model in many respects. This applies, of course, only to the time of the Principate, (first and second century AD) and not to the authoritarian state of late antiquity.

One criticism is that the author paints a picture of Imperial times which is, on the whole, rather too positive. Her presentation of economic and social conditions seems too "modernistic". On the other hand, by sharply contrasting the two eras, she does succeed in bringing out structural differences more clearly than has been done before.

Dr. Joachim Thiel

HAUSTEIN, ULRICH - GEORG W. STROBEL - GERHARD WAGNER (Eds.)

East Central Europe. Reports and Research

["Ostmitteleuropa. Berichte und Forschungen"]

Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1981; XIII, 544 pp.

This imposing volume, made up of essays by an international team of researchers, as shown, not by the title page but by a following page and a foreword as what it is: a commemorative publication, given by his friends, colleagues and pupils to one of the internationally best-known experts on East European history in the Federal Republic of Germany. On the 28th January 1981, Professor Dr. Gotthold Rhode, Professor of East European History at the University of Mainz, celebrated his 65th birthday. This volume, then, has a double importance. On the one hand, it very rightly underlines the importance of Professor Rhode and of his work for international East European studies. East European studies in the German Federal Republic outgrew the shadow of the Third Reich very soon after the war, and regained their old,

respected place in international research; this is due, in large measure, to Professor Rhode. In both quantity and quality, his works are among the best that German studies on Eastern Europe have produced. (At the end of the publication there is a list of his works which runs to no less than 24 pages of print.) It should also be noted, in particular, that Professor Rhode has earned particular acclaim for the most important part of his life's work, the history of Poland, with special reference to his superlative study of German-Polish relations.

By referring to Professor Rhode in this way, the commemorative publication fulfils one important purpose. In addition, however, there is of course the content itself: there are 34 high-quality contributions, principally by historians from the Federal Republic of Germany who specialize in East European studies; in addition, some contributors are from other countries, notably Poland. The focus of most of the contributions is the region which has always been most important for Professor Rhode too, namely, East Central Europe. Russian and South-East European history provide topics for other contributions. The result is a volume which holds great interest for international studies on Eastern Europe, and one for which the editors have earned our well-deserved thanks.

Professor Dr. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen

HELLMANN, MANFRED – KLAUS ZERNACK – GOTTFRIED SCHRAMM (Eds.)

Handbook of Russian History. Vol. 1: From the Formation of the Empire in Kiev to the Moscow Czardom. Vol. 2: From Fringe State to Hegemonial Power. Vol. 3: From the Autocratic Reforms to the Soviet State (1856–1945)

[“Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands. Bd. 1: Von der Kiewer Reichsbildung bis zum Moskauer Zartum. Bd. 2: Vom Randstaat zur Hegemonialmacht. Bd. 3: Von den autokratischen Reformen zum Sowjetstaat (1856–1945)”]

Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1976–1982; Vol. 1, instalments 1–11: 850 pp., Vol. 2, instalments 1–3: 238 pp., Vol. 3, instalments 1/2–5/6: 478 pp.

Since reference was made in this journal (No. 2 of Volume 11, 1978, p. 210) to the first instalment of the “Handbook of Russian History”, containing the two contributions by M. Hellmann on the “Problem of the History of Russia in the Middle Ages” and C. Goehrke’s on the “Geographical Circumstances of Russia in their Historical Relationship”, four years have passed. In these four years the three editors have succeeded in bringing their extensive and complex

task of organizing and publishing such a comprehensive handbook, written by various authors, closer to its solution: the first half-volume of Volume 1, covering the period from the Kiev formation of the Empire to the Moscow Czardom, has been concluded and two instalments of the second half-volume have appeared; six instalments exist of Volume 3, which is to bring the work to a conclusion with the description of the period from 1856 to 1945, and three instalments of Volume 2, covering the period from the Moscow Czardom to the Crimean War, under the heading "From Fringe State to Hegemonial Power". The goal which the three editors have set themselves, that of completing for the first time in the history of German research into Russia a comprehensive survey of Russian history written by a team of authors, thus also becomes more clearly comprehensible to the reader. The complexity of this task and the variety, in part at least, of approaches of the three editors to their volumes are demonstrated by the Foreword by G. Schramm at the beginning of the third volume. Nevertheless it is already beyond question that we are confronted here with a single entity which will be indispensable to every Russian historian of the future. It is indeed for the expert in particular that the publication of the complete works will undoubtedly be a joy from the methodical aspect, as he tests out the overall concept and compares it with other overall surveys. It is desirable, both for this and for the use of the work by a broader audience, that it should be concluded as rapidly as possible.

Professor Dr. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen

HILDEBRAND, KLAUS

The Third Reich

["Das Dritte Reich"]

München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1980; 244 pp.

Countless books have by now been written about the Third Reich, to the extent that even the expert is no longer in a position to form a clear picture of the present statue and development of the research. In his books and articles Klaus Hildebrand has proved himself to be one of the best scholars of the Third Reich. So it was really axiomatic that he should take over the editing of the volume on the Third Reich in the new series "Grundriss der Geschichte" (Outline of History). The purpose of this series is to give a survey in eighteen volumes of history from Graeco-Roman antiquity to the immediate present. The volumes are conceived on a standard plan. Whereas Part One gives a brief description of the period in question, Part Two contains a detailed discussion of the state of research and in the final part this is reinforced by a select bibliography and chronology. The intention is to revise the volumes whenever

the state of research has developed in any essential way. This would undoubtedly apply to the volumes on the Modern Age in particular. Hildebrand's view of history is "intentional". The supporters of this research tendency cannot imagine the Third Reich as it existed and operated, without Hitler. To them Hitler is the decisive personality; their argument is that it was ultimately according to his will how and where the Reich moved. On the basis of this interpretation Hildebrand achieves an uncommonly full description of the Third Reich and in the section on the state of research he makes it clear that his view of things, in contrast to the "functional" view of history, embraces the reality of the Third Reich far more convincingly. For Hitler was not a "weak" dictator, as the "functionalists" insist – a man who was never really in control of his regime and whose weakness finally led to an unbridled radicalization of the system, but a "strong" dictator, who from beginning to end of the Third Reich laid down National Socialist policy.

Dr. Klaus-Jörg Ruhl

Historical Archives of the Book Trade, Vol. XXI and XXII

[*"Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, Band XXI und XXII"*]

(Herausgegeben von der Historischen Kommission des Börsenvereins des Deutschen Buchhandels e. V.)

Frankfurt: Buchhändler-Vereinigung GmbH, Vol. XXI: 1980; 1580 columns. Vol. XXII: 1981; 1616 columns

The various theses printed in the AGB on the history of the numerous German authors' associations have received an important addition in Ernst Fischer's work on the "Association for the Protection of the Rights of German Authors" (authors' trade union) (SDS). The question as to whether the writer of a piece of literature is an individualist or a dependent producer of goods had led some Berlin lawyers, who were also authors, to found a new association in 1909 which was to take charge of representing authors' interests, mainly from the point of view of reforming copyright, taxation and labour law. Its highly-regarded members and presidents gave the association an influence which did not, however, suffice to push through ideas, such as for instance the Reich cultural royalty payment or the library penny, and certainly not to have a very mitigating effect on the censorshiplike effect of the law for the protection of juveniles. Dr. Fischer has given a critical interpretation of the little source material which has survived and endeavours to do justice to every individual member who engaged himself in association work.

A. Halbey has used the research work he carried out for his commemorative exhibition in honour of the publishing firm Erich Reiss Verlag (1908–1936) as the basis for compiling a survey of the publisher's production which was

mainly devoted to Expressionists such as Klabund, Unruh, Benn, but also Bahr, Bab, Kisch and Harden.

J. Benzing has compiled a list of 428 titles of works printed by the early Hanau printers Wilhelm and Peter Antonius (1593–1625) who introduced English literature to Germany. H. v. Schade has produced a similar list of 386 titles of works from the post-Lutheran Frankfurt publisher and printer Peter Braubach and his heirs (1540–1573).

P. J. Becker investigated the writers of travel books in the eighteenth century as to whether they visited libraries and which ones they did visit and what it was that led them there, because it was not just scholarly interest, but also social interest which led bibliophiles into libraries and provided them with topics for discussion. Eva Ziesche and Dierck Schnidtger prepared electron-radiographic pictures of the watermarks of the Mainz Catholicon, and on the basis of the paper consumption of the Mainz printers, they fixed the date at 1460.

Lore Sporhan-Krempel continues the history of the Nuremberg paper mills, this time in Hagenhausen and Hirschbach. Apart from that, her Nuremberg archive studies drew her attention to the copperplate engraver Susanna-Maria Sandrart, a niece of the famous Joachim Sandrart, and she compiled her life's work and biography.

On the basis of the quarrels between Gutzkow and the Mannheim publisher Hoff, G. Frieben shows that prior to 1840 the well-known author promised more success than he had. Nevertheless he fought – in later years mainly in vain too – against reductions in prices which damaged the authors' image.

F. Juntke has endeavoured to throw light on the life of the astrologist and skilled medical healer L. Thurneisser zum Thurm after his flight from Berlin in 1584 until his death in 1592 on the basis of his writings, as his biographer does not mention this part of his life any more.

M. v. Stosch investigated the library of J. H. Voss which was auctioned at Reichard's in Heidelberg in 1835, and also that of Voss's son Abraham in order to determine which works have come down to us from the father's library through the son's library. He succeeds in showing that in the library of the schoolteacher Abraham there were only a few books from his father's collection, whereas in the library of his brother Hans were mainly the manuscript works.

In the following volume Volker Dahn continues his detailed account of the fate of Jewish publishing houses, taking the S. Schocken company as an example. The publisher of Buber and Argon came from a family of very modest circumstances and only had a Cheder education. But thanks to his trilingual origins (Polish, German, Yiddish), great literary-philosophical interest was implanted in him already at an early age. After acquiring a considerable fortune through a

chain of stores which he had built up himself, he sought a task for himself as the patron of Jewish poetry and prose, leading to the founding of his publishing house in 1931. In 1933 the publisher emigrated to Jerusalem and from there controlled Lambert Schneider's running of the company with the organisational means of the head of a stores company until the hazardous transfer of the publishing stock to Jerusalem became unavoidable in 1939 as a result of Nazi persecution.

Michael Davudis's study draws our attention to Wilhelm Hertz, who had been active in Berlin since 1846 as a bookseller, antiquarian and wholesale bookseller, and since 1847 also as a publisher. He was the publisher of *Novellen* (Gottfried Keller, Paul Heyse and Theodor Fontane). His authors also included the leading figures in the conservative "Kreuzzeitung" party, the brothers Gerlach and Ernst Stahl. Apart from that he had considerable support from Berlin classical philologists, geologists and Egyptologists. 50 % of the publishing programme is devoted to scholarly works, but without being concentrated on any particularly field. But if one considers that neither the geographer von Richthofen, nor the Egyptologist Lepsius, nor the archaeologist Metzger and the Winkelmann Society, nor the historians Wattenbach, Stein and Lorenz, nor Wilhelm Schwarz and Ernst Curtius were able to confer the publishing house with a particular specialist field, not even the members of the Goethe Society became the most important authors in the field of German language and literature for the company, but Julian Schmidt and Hermann Grimm, one nevertheless still recognises the importance of the company, which so rapidly fell into oblivion through the publisher's son's suicide.

The literary bequest of the publisher Costenobel serves as a source for the publishing house links of a bestseller authoress who wrote historical novels under the pseudonym of L. Mühlbach. The person concerned is the wife of Theodor Mundt, Clara Müller, who was born in 1814. As an author she was just as popular in the USA as in Germany. Just like her husband, she did not just defend, but also lived the new social role for women in her cosmopolitan salon. As a lending library author she had great difficulties with the tricks of fiction magazine publishers who would first sell their unlimited, lump-sum paid magazine edition as long as was possible and only then began to distribute the edition for which they had to pay royalties. McClaire and Curth-Voigt provide a very thorough interpretation of and commentary on the correspondence. Before she went to Costenobel, Theodor Mundt's wife had been an author of that salesman in printed matter, O. Jancke.

Karl Gutzkow was also one of his authors, who then also went over to Costenobel. A strange thing about both publishers was the fact they haggled about royalties and yet wanted to be celebrated as philanthropists. H. Friesen has provided a commentary on and interpretation of the correspondence. One

thing here which particularly attracts the reader's notice is how both publisher and author try to keep their personal friendship separate from their publishing business, particularly when it is a matter of loyalty to the publishing house and questions of royalties.

Dr. Hans-Martin Kirchner

HÜRTEN, HEINZ

Restoration and Revolution in the Nineteenth Century

["Restauration und Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert"]

Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1981; 146 pp.

The author deals with European developments in the nineteenth century in two chapters entitled "Restoration and Revolution" (pp. 11-40) and "Fundamental Aspects of the Century" (pp. 41-77), together with a section on sources complementing the two chapters (pp. 79-140). These developments were dominated by the principle of balance of power. After Napoleon Bonaparte's predominance had been broken by a combination of Britain's resistance, the national uprisings and Russia's intervention, Europe was rearranged at the Congress of Vienna in accordance with the principle of balance of power. Britain was particularly interested in this, being able to successfully expand its overseas empire during the Victorian period. That was why she also showed so great an interest in maintaining the balance of power in Continental Europe. But this immobility was greatly imperilled by the forces and developments dominating the nineteenth century. The ideas of the French Revolution of 1789 served to intensify nationalism by linking it with liberal and democratic ideas. Among the smaller nations, thus also the Slavonic nations, nationalism was awakened for the first time. The European system of powers underwent a lasting reform when Italy and Germany succeeded in attaining national unity. Political tensions were dangerously increased, particularly by the fact that all countries were industrialising, albeit at very divergent tempi and to a very varying degree. Economic interests, particularly the hunger for raw materials and industry's need for markets, thus became increasingly important for national power ambitions. It was only possible to safeguard peace between 1870 and 1914 by an increasingly complex system of alliances. Through the political revolutions from 1789 on, even more as a consequence of the effects of the First Industrial Revolution, the social order of the peoples of Europe was shaken to its very foundations. As well as that there was a great increase in population. Social problems developed from 1848 on, turning into open or threatening social revolution. The political, economic and social question gradually became dominant. On the other hand, science in the

nineteenth century underwent extraordinary progress in all fields in the form of positive individual research. The fact that the results of science applied technically were able to completely transform life right down to the most commonplace things is a notion which came about through European science in the nineteenth century acting in combination with industrialisation. Apart from the account of the political, economic and social problems of Europe in the nineteenth century, the author also succeeds in providing a brief and impressive description of man and his environment in the changes wrought in almost all fields by the revolutionary development.

Professor Dr. Konrad Fuchs

KETTENACKER, LOTHAR - MANFRED SCHLENKE - HELLMUT SEIER (Eds.)

**Studies on the History of England and on German-British Relations.
Publication in Honour of Paul Kluge**

[*"Studien zur Geschichte Englands und der deutsch-britischen Beziehungen. Festschrift für Paul Kluge"*]

München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1981; 397 pp.

This commemorative publication concerns itself above all with the two themes that have been Paul Kluge's preferred area of work since the beginning of his academic career: the history of Britain, and German-British relations. The editors consider this limitation appropriate, since Kluge "earned special recognition for the links he created between British and German historical studies" (p. 7) in his capacity as one-time Chairman of the "Society for the Promotion of the British-German Historians' Circle", and as the first Director of the German Historical Institute in London.

The editors give only an extremely concise account of Kluge's life and research interests, and refer the reader who wishes for a more detailed account of his work in historical studies to the book edited by Dieter Rebentisch and Hellmut Seier: *"Paul Kluge, Foreign Policy and Contemporary History. Selected Essays"* (Paul Kluge, *Aussenpolitik und Zeitgeschichte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 8), Wiesbaden 1974). The British Empire has not fascinated Kluge with that mixture of love and hate felt by military professors during Kaiser Wilhelm's time, and which triumphed again in the 1930's and 1940's; his experience of Nazi Germany's immoral compulsion to expand is a good reason for this. From this experience Kluge has come to the conclusion that "there must be a guiding idea behind every lasting power" (p. 9).

This complex of problems is variously treated in the studies in this volume, as for example in the first and the last pieces. In "Parliament and the Beginnings

of the English Revolution" (Das Parlament und die Anfänge der Englischen Revolution) Peter Wende raises the question of whether one can speak of determinacy with regard to this revolution, or not. This question has recently become topical again in view of several revisionist contributions which appeared after the so-called Gentry controversy (see, especially, *Journal of Modern History* II, 1977).

In "The Development of the Image of England in Germany since the End of the 18th Century" (Zur Entwicklung des Englandbildes der Deutschen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts), Wolfgang J. Mommsen indicates, quite correctly, that this subject has so far not received the attention it deserves, the only exceptions being the studies of Charles E. McClelland, "The German Historians and England. A Study in Nineteenth Century Views" (Cambridge, 1971) and: Günter Hollenberg, "English Interest in Imperial Germany. The Attraction of Prussian Germany for Conservative and Liberal Circles in Great Britain 1860 – 1914" (Die Attraktivität Preussen-Deutschlands für konservative und liberale Kreise in Grossbritannien 1860 – 1914, Wiesbaden 1974). Mommsen comes to the conclusion, as concise as it is remarkable, that the mutual assessment of Germans and English has reversed itself in an unusual way. The "English disease" ("die englische Krankheit") used to be an explicit and exaggerated commercialism; today, in Germany, it has exactly the opposite meaning.

The remaining fifteen studies concern themselves directly or indirectly with German-English relations, with the exception only of a selection of studies in academic history: Notker Hammerstein writes on "Matthew Arnold's Suggestions for the Reform of the English Universities" (Matthew Arnolds Vorschlag einer Reform der englischen Universitäten); Gerhard A. Ritter deals with international academic relations at the time of Imperial Germany; and Peter Alter contributes a synopsis of the co-operation between academic institutions in the early twentieth century.

Werner Gembruch, Hellmut Seier, Wolf-D. Gruner and Klaus Hildebrand deal with various aspects of German-British relations in the 19th century. The other authors – Milan Hauner, Hermann Fromm, Walter Bussmann, J. A. S. Grenville, Michael Balfour, Lothar Kettenacker, Wolfgang Rudzio and Klaus Schwabe – concern themselves with the same topic, but for the 20th century. The subjects range from the biographical to those concerned with questions of the maintenance of peace, from problems of bilateral and multilateral relations and of the history of diplomacy, to the situation prior to, and the actual history of, the German-British "relationship" in the 1930's and 1940's, taking examples from the media. Finally Rudzio's contribution concerns the British role as occupying power 1945 – 1948, and Schwabe's short piece deals with the relationship between Adenauer and his island neighbour; this is largely to be

seen as a function of the *raison d'état* of the Federal Republic, which was still finding its way as a young nation, and thus also of Franco-German relations. These two pieces form a bridge to post-war history, and even to the present day.

On at least the cultural level and the simple level of meetings between German and English people, the German-British relationship appears to me of great intrinsic value, even though this is still insufficiently recognized. Open-mindedness and tolerance are needed to bring people together, and for these, in turn, one needs understanding and knowledge. It is just these values that this commemorative publication aims to promote, and it does so in an excellent manner.

Dr. Hans-Christoph Junge

KLÖNNE, ARNO

Young People under the Third Reich. The Hitler Youth and its Opponents.

Documents and Analyses

[*"Jugend im Dritten Reich. Die Hitler-Jugend und ihre Gegner. Dokumente und Analysen"*]

Düsseldorf: Eugen Diderichs Verlag, 1982; 309 pp.

Former National Socialist youth leaders have written many apologies about the Hitler Youth, particularly in recent times, so that Klönne's scholarly, well-considered and highly-readable account is very welcome. It shows how destructive the effects of National Socialism were, even in the area of the Youth Movement, which before 1933 had comprised a large proportion of German youth. The definitive aims and Utopian goals of working-class youth, of the confessional youth groups and of the young educated classes suffered lasting disintegration. The State Youth of the Third Reich was ultimately orientated solely towards the goals of the regime and in concrete terms towards compulsory service for young people and war activity for the "Führer". Although there was talk of personal responsibility and the principle of "youth leads youth" was propagated, it was unmistakable that the numerous official and service regulations decided the direction of that leadership. When equality of the sexes was brought up, the masculine leadership of the Bund Deutscher Mädel and the fixation on the National Socialist image which discredited women was overlooked. When reports came up of class-specific equality, then no account was taken of the Hitler Youth special unit for the upper and professional classes, even if in this connection a certain levelling process was obvious. Especially characteristic of the Hitler Youth was its orientation towards the social aspect of the Darwinian theory, according to

which "only the healthy and strong" would succeed. Nevertheless, Klönne is able to show that the influence of the National Socialist youth policy was not unlimited. To a great extent it was expressed "only" in the fact that any political thought was prevented. At the same time highly varied opposition tendencies were also in existence. Thanks to the terrorist conditions of the Third Reich up to 1945, however, they were not effective and after that, owing to their own limited goals, they were not forward-looking. Thus the wild youth groups like Swing Youth or Edelweiss Pirates were principally protesting only against compulsion and drill in the Hitler Youth.

Professor Dr. Günter Wollstein

KUNISCH, JOHANNES (Ed.)

The Dynastic State. On the Importance of Succession Ordinances for the Development of the Early Modern State

[*"Der dynastische Fürstenstaat. Zur Bedeutung von Sukzessionsordnungen für die Entstehung des frühmodernen Staates"*]

(Historische Forschungen, Band 21)

Berlin: Duncker und Humblot Verlag, 1982; 424 pp.

This present volume brings together – with a few exceptions – the papers which were given at an international symposium held in Wolfenbüttel in Autumn 1980. The subject matter is derived from a small book by the Cologne historian Johannes Kunisch (*State Constitution and Power Politics*, Berlin 1979), who was also responsible for organising the Wolfenbüttel symposium, in which he drew attention to the fundamental importance of hereditary succession in the dynastic age, and, on the basis of selected examples, examined how the European states of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempted to obviate the danger of wars of succession. In Wolfenbüttel this subject was taken much further, in that fundamental questions were asked about the origins and the function of succession ordinances for the development of the early modern state. There is thus an attempt to arrive at a European comparison, for which the – in part summarised, in part completely reproduced – discussion does indeed provide some decisive aspects.

After a series of fundamental, state theoretical and general constitutional law contributions (Mohnhaupt, Weitzel, Kunisch), the problem of the succession and hereditary succession for the Wettiner states (Klein), *Germania sacra* (Reinhardt) and the Papacy (Reinhardt) are dealt with in sequence, then a look is taken at the so-called "absolute hereditary kingdoms" (France: Muhlack; Spain: Pietschmann; House of Austria: Schulze; Russia: Stöckl), and finally the corresponding actual and legislative developments in the "conditionally

hereditary kingdoms" are examined (Sweden: Runeby; Poland: Hoensch; England: Wende). It is not, of course, possible to go into details in the course of this review, but one important pan-European aspect does appear to be that the problem of religious adherence had considerable influence on the new fixation of succession ordinances in the European states, another that the incorporation of hereditary succession ordinances into international law apparently first – as Professor Kunisch had assumed – became of interest after the War of the Spanish Succession.

The succession to the throne is the central point of constitutional theory, constitutional law and constitutional reality in all European monarchies of the early modern period. This present volume is thus not just a welcome enrichment of the political history of the early modern period, but also shows up important constitutional structures of the pre-revolutionary political world. A colloquium which paid off.

Professor Dr. Heinz Duchhardt

LANGEWIESCHE, DIETER – KLAUS SCHÖNHOFEN (Eds.)

Workers in Germany. Studies on the Way of Life of the Working Population in the Age of Industrialisation

["Arbeiter in Deutschland. Studien zur Lebensweise der Arbeiterschaft im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung"]

Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 1981; 310 pp.

This miscellany is divided into three parts: "The Coming into Being and Transformation of the Working Class"; "Forms of Life and Social Chances" and "Work, Conflict, Organisation". Twelve papers form the content of the individual parts. Following the introductory contribution by Dieter Langewiesche und Klaus Schönhoven, reporting on the "Workers' Way of Life in Germany in the Age of Industrialisation", there are accounts on the subjects: "On the Constitution of the Proletariat as a Class. Structural Study of the Leipzig Proletariat during the Industrial Revolution" by Hartmut Zwahr (pp. 37–80); "Regional Mobility and the Working Class. The Example of Bochum 1880–1901" by David Crew (pp. 81–97); "Turning Bourgeois – the Consequences of an Interpretation" by Hermann Bausinger (pp. 98–117); "Mobility and the Social State of the Württemberg Factory Worker in the Nineteenth Century" by Peter Borscheid and Heilwig Schomerus (pp. 121–138); "Night Lodgers, Schnaps Joints and Heavy Industrial Colony. Aspects of the Workers' Dwelling Question in the Ruhr District before the First World War" by Franz J. Brüggemeier and Lutz Niethammer (pp. 139–172); "Trends of Cultural Change in Popular Nutrition in the

Nineteenth Century" by Günter Wiegmann (pp. 173-181); "The Feeding of the Lower Social Classes in the Late Nineteenth Century" by Hans J. Teuteberg (pp. 182-186); "Railway Workers in the Period prior to the 1848 Revolution: Forms of Work and Patterns of Conflict" by Hans-Gerd Husung (pp. 209-220); "Problems of Trade Union Organisation in the Iron and Steel and Textile Industries in Bielefeld 1890-1914" by Karl Ditt (pp. 221-239); "The Coming into Being of Holidays for Workers in Germany before the First World War" by Jürgen Reulecke (pp. 240-268) and "Economic Situation and Strike during the Transition to Organised Capitalism in Germany" by Hartmut Kaelble and Heinrich Volkmann (pp. 269-294).

The papers make it clear that instability was part of the basic life experience and condition of existence for numerous workers in the nineteenth century, because the rhythm of economic ups and downs meant either good possibilities of employment for them, or depressing losses of wages, if not, indeed, unemployment. A longer period of employment generally cut deep into the life of the workers and their families: the search for employment and moves, selling or pawning off parts of the home furnishing in order to keep their heads above water, political loss of rights if poor aid was drawn or the residence periods were not attained as laid down for the acquisition of municipal suffrage were among the evil accompaniments to unemployment. Their chances of earnings depending on their age were also unstable, ranging from the lowest phase of income during their youth, the highest phase of earning in their thirties and forties, and their provisions for old age. In general, the workers' general conditions of life were not stable, forcing them to change their place of work and dwelling, and fluctuate between various occupations and social areas. The particular merit of this collection of papers is to have clarified the manifold socio-political problems documented here.

Professor Dr. Konrad Fuchs

LOBKOWICZ, NIKOLAUS - F. PRINZ (Eds.)

Czechoslovakia's Fateful Years 1945-1948

["Schicksalsjahre der Tschechoslowakei 1945-1948"]

München, Wien: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1981; 181 pp.

Czechoslovakia is one of the smaller European countries, so that its fate almost inevitably impinges permanently on the awareness of a wider public only when it is connected with the actions of the Great Powers. This has happened to Czechoslovakia twice in the last half-century: in 1938 owing to the problem of the Sudeten-Germans and the Munich Agreement and in 1968 through the Prague Spring and the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops. The fact that

smaller countries and nations also have an eventful history which is important beyond their own frontiers, quite apart from the generally tragic "peaks" of their history, is generally overlooked or too quickly forgotten. The years between 1945 and 1948 in Czechoslovakia are an instructive example of this: apart from the expulsion of 3½ million Sudeten Germans, these years were the transitional phase between the restoration of a free democratic state after the end of the "Reich protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" and the "independent" Slovakian state of Hitler's grace, until the Communist seizure of power in February 1948. The history of Czechoslovakia in the years 1945-1948 is therefore a classical example of the expansion of the direct area of sovereignty of the Soviet Union after the Second World War and is vital to an understanding of Czechoslovakia until today. Our thanks are due to both editors for presenting the proceedings of a meeting of the "Society for the Promotion of Research on Czechoslovakia" in June 1977 in Munich, in expanded and revised form. Eleven experts from Europe and the USA present the results of their research, and special thanks are due to the efforts to increase understanding of the developments in Czechoslovakia at that time by means of parallels with Hungary and Poland. The volume therefore represents a valuable contribution to continued research into what must surely be the most important period of European post-war history.

Professor Dr. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen

MATZ, KLAUS-JÜRGEN

Tables of Rulers in World History

["Regententabelle zur Weltgeschichte"]

München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1980; 396 pp.

When dealing with history, it is still not possible to work completely without dates, nor without a knowledge of leading statesmen, be they emperors, sultans or presidents. We need a framework in which the individual events and currents, the history of states and continents can be arranged and held in place. Thus the chronological sequence of the "rulers", the dates of their lives and periods of rule are at the same time a mini-history of the individual political elements. Dr. Matz's volume presents these dates astonishingly thoroughly and clearly for the whole history of the world in a small handy volume, beginning with long-vanished states in the orient and the ancient world down to the most recent states founded in present-day Africa. The book is an enthralling reference work and a useful aid to rapid and many-sided orientation. For the student of German and the historian dealing with German history, the tables for the German-speaking countries will be to the fore;

Germany alone (without Austria and Switzerland, but with the GDR and the individual federal provinces) occupies 80 pages. The information is of great exactness and completeness; the arrangement is practical and well thought out. Only small desiderata still remain. Thus Tyrol (in Austria) is not presented as a whole, but only fragmentarily; of the episcopal territories, only the ecclesiastical electorates of Mainz, Trier and Cologne are included. But this restriction is very probably necessary for reasons of space, particularly as the book has grown to over 400 pages anyway. If there is one wish which is still unfulfilled, it is that an index of the countries covered should be provided, despite the volume's clear arrangement, and a better arrangement of the bibliography.

Professor Dr. Hans Pörnbacher

MEIER, CHRISTIAN

Caesar

["Caesar"]

Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1982; 590 pp., 67 ill.

Christian Meier, professor for ancient history at the University of Munich, describes his own book as "a scholarly biography with narrative intent". It is the first comprehensive study on Caesar to be published in the German-speaking area since Matthias Gelzer's standard work appeared in 1921 (6th edition 1960). As the author describes Caesar's rise in close connection with the political events of the time, this book is also a history of the last phase of the Roman Republic. The first two hundred pages are primarily concerned with this last phase, although it is not neglected in the further course of the account in which the outsider Caesar comes to dominate more and more. As the position on source material the relevant epoch has not improved very much recently, new facts and data should not be expected. What is new, on the other hand, is the interpretation of the existing material, which does not, it is true, alter the overall picture, but does bring important changes. The author shows Caesar's brilliant, fascinating characteristics, his indisputable greatness, but also his lack of hesitation about all the moral expectations which his contemporaries placed in a Roman aristocrat. His cruelty which broke through at times, especially in the Gallic War – in contrast to his "*clementia*" otherwise – is also given adequate attention, but is regarded as being within the bounds of Roman conduct of war (the Graeco-Roman world did not know the concept of war crime). If Caesar drew a great part of his strength from his independence, his lack of understanding for Republican institutions and his egocentricity, then these characteristics and attitudes were later to turn against him and cause his failure in the final phase. The author takes Caesar's

declaration seriously that he has started the Civil War to maintain his "dignitas": less care for the general welfare of society, or indeed for the Republican institutions than personal thoughts of fame were the main motives for his activity. Caesar sought personal power, but hardly, as Gelzer felt, the monarchy. The author tends rather to Hermann Strasburger's opinion that Caesar failed politically after his victory in the Civil War because he had no concept of his own to offer as an alternative to that of the Republicans (personified especially in Cato and Cicero).

Where the sources do not provide any information, the author seeks to explain the protagonists' notions and motives for action on the basis of the conditions of the epoch. Without producing direct topical links, he succeeds in bringing problematical situations in the Graeco-Roman world, however alien they might be, into the reader's horizon of political and psychological experience. For a scholarly work, the book is written in a remarkably readable and unusually thrilling style. In this respect, the author returns to the tradition of older German historians (Mommsen, Ranke, etc.) who did not want to write history solely for specialists. In keeping with his non-specialist intention, the book does not contain a scholarly apparatus. In a postscript, the author refers to the most important specialist literature and the source details and bibliographies contained therein.

Dr. Joachim Thiel

MERKER, NICOLAO

The Enlightenment in Germany

["Die Aufklärung in Deutschland"]

München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1982; 347 pp.

The author, Professor of the History of Philosophy of the Modern Period at the University of Rome, presents here an account of the German Enlightenment which covers both its intellectual historical development and also the present state of research, with a review of its historical development. In a survey of the history of scholarship Professor Merker refers to the influence on a philosophical evaluation of the Enlightenment by Hegel and those "who based their ideas more or less on (him)". This, in Prof. Merker's view, traditional interpretation is contrasted with two further lines of interpretation of this period in intellectual history which have had an influence on research work. The author regards one interpretation as tending to the right, beginning with Stäudlin, for whom the religious problem "of the eighteenth century" is "dominated by a reconciliation between reason and revelation, both in Leibniz and Wolff, and also in Lessing". Other criteria for evaluation were laid down by Hettner, who in Merker's opinion represents the third line of interpreta-

tion, with Hettner characterising the period of the Enlightenment as a restrained "expression of the contradictory and unhealthy conditions in Germany". This conclusion, which is derived from an anti-Hegelian critique, shows, in Prof. Merker's view, a method of interpretation which he describes as "left orientated". The author traces the three historically determined lines of interpretation and ways of view mentioned down to the present. An important aspect here is that Prof. Merker also takes up mixed forms of the three ways of evaluation which are designed as being typically ideal and explains them. The author has derived his accounts of the German Enlightenment from the historically prepared material just discussed. They are formed by reflections on the "pre-Enlightenment philosophical-cultural tradition" and its socio-political backgrounds. This is not the only reason why this present volume is regarded as a general history of the Enlightenment, but also because of its systematic treatment of the "pre-Lessing elaborations in the field of methodology, aesthetics and the philosophy of religion". Apart from the intellectual historical perspectives mentioned, the author asks the question "what contribution the most important and mature expressions of the ideas of the Enlightenment made with regard to the construction of a bourgeois ideology in Germany", what extent they had and to what degree they still have an effect even now.

Prof. Merker's book can thus be regarded as an inventory-taking of scholarly studies on the Enlightenment, to which the author himself has made an important contribution, with this volume taking account as it does of re-awakened modern interest in the age of the Enlightenment, furthering it and doing it justice.

Günter Förster

OVERESCH, MANFRED – FRIEDRICH WILHELM SAAL (Eds.)

Chronicle of German Contemporary History. Politics, Economics, Culture.

Vol. 1: The Weimar Republic

[*"Chronik deutscher Zeitgeschichte. Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur. Bd. 1: Die Weimarer Republik"*]

(Droste Geschichtskalendrium, Vol. 1)

Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1982; 688 pp.

Many of the old and much-used history calendars such as *"Schulthess' europäischer Geschichtskalender"* have perished; this new edition seeks to offer a substitute. Events concerning politics, economics and culture have been selected for every single day, altogether a total of about 50,000 data. Despite some necessary criticism of the principles of selection this has given rise to a

reliable and interesting reference work. Two examples will be given as an illustration of the book's structure. The editors name the beginning of the armistice negotiations at Compiègne, conducted on the German side by Erzberger, the foundation of a workers' council in Munich and the abdication of the Bavarian King as the most important events of 8.11.1918 (the eve of the Revolution). In the cultural sphere the principal mention is of the film *Mania* played by Pola Negri and the challenge of the Stalling Verlag to read one's native literature in view of the grave war situation. On 31.1.1933, the day when Hitler's government was formed, the liberal-conservative *Frankfurter Zeitung* described this formation as a curiosity, the reactionary *Kreuzzeitung* as a success, the National Socialist *Völkischer Beobachter* as a historical turning-point, and the left-liberal *Berliner Tageblatt* as the starting-point for a resistance movement. At the same time Ludendorff prophesied to Hindenburg that the President of the Reich would be cursed by future generations for his rôle in the formation of the government. The events at the beginning and the end of the Weimar Republic reflect how in 1918 new political powers seemed to have become decisive, but how in 1933 in fact representatives of Imperial Germany played a fateful – if varying – rôle.

Professor Dr. Günter Wollstein

PRIGNITZ, CHRISTOPH

Love of the Fatherland and Liberty. German Patriotism from 1750–1850
 [“Vaterlandsliebe und Freiheit. Deutscher Patriotismus von 1750–1850”]
 Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981; 221 pp.

In this work, a problem is analysed which has its roots in civic ethos, but which at the same time, however, also includes emotional, often passionately intensified dedication to the suprapersonal state whole, which is regarded in this dedication, not just as a legal and political order, but also as the community caring for the individual. There is also consideration of the fact that patriotism grew (and is, by the way, still growing) out of the free preparedness for service and sacrifice, and that it is thus only to a certain extent linked to civic freedom.

The awareness of national characteristics, which spread out over the whole of Europe from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on, particularly in the field of language, manifested itself in Germany in the shape of patriotic societies, whereas politically it became apparent in the efforts towards renewing and reinforcing the Holy Roman Empire, which had grown weak, and in the attitude towards the state in the territorial states, i. e. in that of the secular states, but hardly in that of the ecclesiastical ones on the other hand. About the end of the eighteenth century, “noble literature”, especially that by Schiller

and Kleist, and the prose and songs of the Wars of Liberation, written and propagated particularly by Ernst Moritz Arndt, Theodor Körner, Max von Schenkendorf and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, were the expression of an intensified patriotism. During the Romantic period, in particular within the historical and linguistic research which that period fostered, "patriotic feeling" was one of the driving forces of patriotism.

On the basis of his analyses, the author sums up by stating: "German patriotism of the age of Enlightenment displays emotion and, in part, great political commitment over long periods in connection with its demands for liberty; it was not, however, possible to give a concrete form to these demands for liberty" (p. 187).

With regard to the development and nature of German patriotism, particularly since the second half of the nineteenth century, one remark by Julius Fröbel may be described as especially appropriate, because as early as 1859 he observed: "The German nation has had enough of principles and doctrines, literary greatness and theoretical existence. What it demands is power – power – power! and anyone who gives it power will be honoured by it, honoured more than one can imagine" (quoted on p. 199). Accordingly, in the following period, especially from 1871 on, *Realpolitik* was regarded, more or less, as power politics. The consequence of this was that external grandeur took the place of earlier emancipatory and cosmopolitan aims. It now became the main content of national thought.

In conclusion, we would refer to the fact that this interesting and informative work is a notable contribution to understanding modern German history. Not least, it is the term of liberty which here gains great importance.

Professor Dr. Konrad Fuchs

SCHMIDT, GUSTAV

England in Crisis. Outlines and Bases of British Appeasement Policy, 1930 – 1937

["England in der Krise. Grundzüge und Grundlagen der britischen Appeasement-Politik 1930 – 1937"]

(Schriften des Zentralinstituts für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung der Freien Universität Berlin, Band 34)

Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981; 691 pp.

Almost twenty years of dealing with English politics of the inter-war period provides this Bochum historian with the possibility of intervening in the discussion about the interpretation of British appeasement policy with a monumental work based on unique sources and taking regard of major historical links. Prof. Schmidt shows how the Empire, weakened by the First

World War, was affected by and reacted to the world economic crisis economically and in its foreign policy. Economic difficulties led to a turning away from a multinational-liberal trading economy, while in the foreign policy field various centres of conflict revealed an overburdening of English resources making a strategy of restraint in the event of the danger of war unavoidable. Precisely in the years 1930–37, when Great Britain still had a considerable amount of latitude available for political manoeuvring, the policy of appeasement, with its isolationist-non-interventionist tendencies and manifold manifestations thus developed almost inevitably, and was in accordance with basic English interests. It can thus not just be interpreted as an answer to the dangers emanating from Hitler's Germany, and should not be considered exclusively as a product of the powerless and decadent British ruling classes, who failed when confronted with powers obsessed with aggression.

The British leadership did not want, as had been the case immediately prior to the First World War, to provide material for an encirclement legend in Germany; it wanted to avoid the outbreak of a war by the "have nots" among the powers, by signaling possibilities of revision to them in good time, and it hoped for a reduction of Germany's political ambitions, which were recognised as being all-embracing, by a long-term détente offensive.

Prof. Schmidt distinguishes in this reflective, risk-fearing policy the periods 1933–36 and 1936–37. Whereas initially a reformation of the European field of forces to the detriment of the victorious powers of the First World War was simply accepted, from 1936 on, endeavours come to the fore to detract Germany from large-scale alterations to the map by increased armament and economic concessions (economic appeasement). Not until after these two periods did appeasement policy develop essentially into a foreign policy which – for unchanged internal political reasons – granted aggressors unilateral concessions at the expense of third parties.

Prof. Schmidt's work provides fundamental material and theses for the interpretation of appeasement policy.

Professor Dr. Günter Wollstein

SCHNEIDER, HELMUTH (Ed.)

Social and Economic History of Imperial Rome

["Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit"]

(Wege der Forschung, Band 552)

Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981; 460 pp.

This volume of collected studies contains seventeen articles by various authors, first published between 1952 and 1977. In the introduction, the editor reviews

the history of research. With regard to economic history, he emphasizes two opposing theories: one is "modernistic", and tries to relate the economic structures of the ancient world to nineteenth and twentieth century classifications, putting emphasis on world-wide trade and industrialization in the Roman Empire; the other theory regards modern concepts as unsuitable for describing pre-industrial economic structures. In addition, the editor stresses the importance of social history; according to him, this is no longer merely one aspect of history in general, but has the task of interpreting general history from a sociological point of view.

A. H. M. Jones ("Economic Life in the Towns of the Roman Empire") is one of the principal representatives of the "minimalist" school of thought, and attaches very little importance to trade and industry in the Roman Empire. Only a few large centres such as Lugdunum (Lyons), Arelate (Arles) and Alexandria carried on extensive trade. In the towns of the later period I. Hahn ("Free Work and Slave Labour in the Late Roman Town") notes that industry relying on slaves was on the decrease in favour of small, free enterprises.

R. MacMullen ("Market Days in the Roman Empire") stresses the important function of local markets for trading exchange in rural areas. M. Crawford ("Money and Exchange in the Roman World") describes the function of the monetary economy, and comes to the conclusion that the amount of money in circulation was the result of the state's policy of expenditure, rather than economic considerations. K. D. White ("Technology and Trade in the Roman Empire") sees the slow development of technology above all as a result of economic conditions. On the other hand, M. I. Finley ("Technological Innovation and Scientific Progress in the Ancient World") sees the main cause of this lack of progress in the generally negative attitude of the ancient world towards practical crafts.

According to R. Martin ("Pliny the Younger and the Economic Problems of his Time"), Pliny was not a typical absentee landowner (like Trimalchio, for example), living in the town and having his land farmed by droves of slaves under the supervision of a "vilicus". Instead, Pliny himself took an interest in economic problems, and, like many other big landowners of his time, tried to achieve a synthesis between rural life according to the "mos maiorum", and the glamorous town life of the man of the world. A. H. M. Jones ("The Roman Colonate") stands by the thesis that the "coloni" could not have been tied to their lands before the time of Diocletian, and that it was the result of fiscal measures; it was intended to make it easier to collect the new poll tax (capitatio). In a further article ("Over-Taxation and the Fall of the Roman Empire") he proves that the continually-rising taxes from Diocletian's time onwards hit the owners of smaller and medium-sized farms particularly hard, and forced many of them to give up their land. Many farmers sought the

patronage of an influential landowner in order to escape the pressure of this taxation, but as a result had only limited control over their land. I. Hahn ("The Rural Patronage in East and West") sees in this a new social phenomenon in the final period of the ancient world.

R. MacMullen ("Social Mobility and the 'Codex Theodosianus'") notes a great deal of social mobility in the later period, with the proviso that this concept should not only be taken in a "positive" context (i. e. as upward mobility) and that it could also include a change in residence and in occupation. The many restrictive laws seem to have had little effect. A. Chastagnol ("The Development of the Senatorial Class in the 3rd and 4th Centuries") also recognizes social mobility in the upper classes, through the "adlectio" of many "equites" to the Senate, and through the formation of the Senate in Constantinople, which was made up almost entirely of members who had formerly belonged to the lower classes.

After the failure of the great revolts, according to E. M. Štaerman ("The Class Struggle of the Slaves during the Time of the Roman Empire"), the slaves countered the increasing pressure from Imperial ideology by also transposing the class struggle on to the ideological plane. In contrast, G. Alföldy ("The Liberation of Slaves and the Structure of Slavery in Imperial Times") deduces from juridical and epigraphical sources that, in general, slaves were freed by the age of thirty (or even earlier) and that their descendants often rose to join the upper classes. In such a situation, a class struggle could hardly be carried on. According to Alföldy ("Social Conflicts in the Roman Empire"), the increasingly prevalent political and social crises did not result in the development of a class ideology or a movement towards social revolution. As an example of a social conflict, E. A. Thompson ("Peasant Revolts in the Later Period of the Ancient World in Gaul and Spain") cites the revolts of the so-called "Bagaudae" and comes to the identical conclusion, namely that a successful revolt would not have resulted in any fundamental changes in the class structure of society at that time.

R. P. Duncan-Jones ("Age-Approximation, Illiteracy and Social Differentiation in the Imperium Romanum") draws conclusions from the statistical analyses of ages given on grave-stones (obvious inaccuracy of the ages given) about the educational level of various social strata (often detecting a high level of illiteracy).

Dr. Joachim Thiel

SCHÖRKEN, ROLF

History in the Everyday World. How We Encounter History and What We Do with It[*"Geschichte in der Alltagswelt. Wie uns Geschichte begegnet und was wir mit ihr machen"*]

Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1981; 261 pp.

Which reader of this book can still devote himself impartially – and that is the important point – to history, can impartially read historical literature, be it scholarly or popular; who can watch historical programmes on television impartially, who, indeed, can study history impartially? Because "how we encounter history and what we do with it" or, as the author also once remarks, how it is "marketed" – that is indeed a major problem of our time, a problem with a range of action which is much larger than the consumer of more or less popular historical literature is aware. But these consumers appear up to now at best as publicity statistics or viewing figures in television and if, as Dr. Schörken says, there are the first signs of an empirical questioning, then it can still be some time before the question: Who reads or watches what, and why? can be answered reasonably conclusively. The author was thus only able to show how history is prepared for so-called everyday consumption. Dr. Schörken has restricted this far-reaching subject to the twentieth century, but even so he was not able to cover everything which is on offer in the field of popular or trivial history. Nevertheless, the book does point the way.

In order to master this intricate subject methodically Dr. Schörken separates academic specialist history from that history prepared for everyday consumption, although the borders – and that is nothing new – are very fluid. But what is this everyday world promised by the book's title? The author superimposes the certainly more noble term "World of life", although he admits near the end of the book that the term "life" is "ambiguous". Admittedly, "World of life" does allow him to include such ambitious authors as Enzensberger and Grass in his problem – authors who are most certainly not part of the simple everyday world. In this "World of life" one could probably also include the non-specialist historian colleagues from the faculties of theology, law, etc., and also a not inconsiderable group of readers who consciously turn to works by specialist historians, such as Erich Marcks's Bismarck biography, or the repeatedly reprinted "Epochs of German History" by the Tübingen historian Johannes Haller. The contours become blurred – naturally enough, one might say – and perhaps it would have been better if the author had kept to the "everyday world", even if it does have an air of triviality about it – in keeping with the unsurpassably appropriate cover drawing showing an open cigarette packet out of which pokes Napoleon's head.

The studies which Dr. Schörken has conducted individually – such as history in non-fiction work, history of literature, history as biography (quite superb here is his dispute with the biographical scribbler Emil Ludwig), history as a touristic experience, down to history in the press, in film and television – are so interesting and instructive that one is encouraged to express further wishes. One could take, for instance, the drama of the twentieth century, which lives from history, or painting right down to the small advertisement pictures of individual companies – “History as seen from the picture” as one chapter is entitled, need not just keep to films and television. Further, history in the daily newspaper, which the author only covers in the exalted region of journalistic theory, reader psychology and the historical essay, without touching on the (often lovingly compiled) local history supplements of the major, or minor provincial press which brought the reader, not least the young reader, into contact with history through local history. One should also remember the so-popular April Fool pranks, the authors of which often and successfully had recourse to the “history box”, and also adult evening class institutes which, according to the author’s own definition, are part of the everyday world, or world of life, could play their role in this connection. For a connoisseur of the problems involved, such as Dr. Schörken, a broad spectrum opens up here promising a rich harvest.

In conclusion, the author touches on another very important subject, the telling of history, which was, as he so rightly says, “earlier one of the bridges which the historiographer built to the wider public”. Nowadays this has become a problem, particularly in schools. Here one sadly misses the name of the historian who encompasses the whole of the problem covered in this book, and whose qualification as a historian was disputed posthumously by a number of critics, precisely because of his art of telling; it is Herodotus, the father of historiography, who used to read out aloud from his history in the market place at Athens to great applause. That was already “History in the everyday world”.

Dr. Erich Gaenschalz

SCHRAMM, GOTTFRIED

Conquerors and Indigenous Peoples. Geographical Loan Names and Their Importance in the History of South-East Europe in the First Millennium A. D.

[“Eroberer und Eingesessene. Geographische Lehnennamen als Zeugen der Geschichte Südosteuropas im ersten Jahrtausend n. Chr.”]

Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1981; X, 467 pp., 6 maps

One of the achievements of German research into the history of South-East Europe is that it has constantly made convincing attempts to go beyond the

scope of detailed regional or national studies, in order to go on to larger-scale syntheses. South-East Europe has always been of special interest in every way, by reason of its tremendous variety, and it is also a complex region which has always been of importance in this synthesizing process. As an example of the fruits of interdisciplinary effort, one can cite the commemorative publication produced by West German researchers into South-East Europe in 1974 at the Third International South-East Europe Congress in Bucharest under the title "Ethnogenesis and Nation-Building in South-East Europe" (Göttingen, Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1974).

The present new publication, by the Freiburg Professor of East European History, Professor Schramm, is a further contribution with the same attributes, which he – too modestly – describes as "Philology of names as an auxiliary discipline for historical studies". It is indeed the philology of names, geographical names to be precise, which Professor Schramm has used, in combination with his profound knowledge of the widely-scattered source material, to compile what practically amounts to a general history of South-East Europe in the first millennium A.D. As a result, the book offers far more than a sophisticated source of auxiliary geographical knowledge for historians. In fact, this is an exemplary piece of precise historical analysis of the sources, which enables some very much under-utilised source material to provide a multiplicity of new insights, for a long time-period and for a wide geographical area. With this piece of work, German studies in South-East Europe have made another contribution which will make a lasting addition to their prestige in South-East Europe research.

Professor Dr. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen

SCHRÖDER, HANS-CHRISTOPH

The American Revolution. An Introduction

["Die amerikanische Revolution. Eine Einführung"]

(Beck'sche Elementarbücher)

München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1982; 246 pp.

This book stands as an introduction to the problems of the American Revolution. The comparison with other modern revolutions is strongly emphasized and particular attention is paid to understanding of the political and economic background, in England as well. Together with the collection of sources recently published by Willi P. Adams (Munich 1976), Schröder's book offers an outstanding lead-in, above all, but not exclusively, for German-speaking students; this applies all the more since the American Revolution has by now become an almost unmanageable subject of research – thanks in part to the Bicentennial of 1976.

One can also sympathize with the author's comment that the American Revolution is difficult to encompass in one handy overall judgement (p. 10). This particular difficulty does not exactly make it easier to write a brief general description, which apart from simply describing and recounting, aims to "say" something. Schröder therefore tries to present a kind of strictly conceived collection of essays, in which fact-loaded narration is largely avoided. This enables him both to go into details and to give abstract interpretations of the whole. The price of such stimulating multiplicity is familiar: ultimately, too many demands are made on the newcomer unless he looks elsewhere for parallel information.

Chapters I-IV offer a characterization of the North American colonies on the eve of the Revolution, both from the aspect of "internal policy" and from that of the relationship of the colonies to the motherland. Chapters III and IV have separate descriptions of the development of these relationships from 1775, in which the first is a little skimmed, while the latter tries to give a compressed impression of the "chain of events".

Chapter V operates as a link, dealing with the new English policy and the American reaction to it. Especially thought-provoking in this context are Schröder's perceptive observations on the connection between the imperial question and the development or tendencies of the constitutional discussion in England (cf. in particular pp. 53, 57; the "aristocratic arrogance" with regard to "men of mercantile caste" is also interesting, p. 58 f.). At all events the Americans were at no time regarded as full citizens by the British, but rather as "rabble" (pp. 63, 66). The culminating point of this chapter is Part Three: "The Reinforcing Effects in the American Reaction" (pp. 72-89), where the theory of the irrationality of the American attitude is credibly rejected.

Chapters VI to IX deal with the colonial opposition, the English position in America, Independence and the War. Chapter IX does not succeed, even if one concedes peculiarities in structural historiography. An introduction, in particular, should offer an outline of the military events.

Chapters X to XII discuss the results of the Revolution and Independence and explain the Constitution of 1887. The next chapter touches on the international effects of the Revolution, with the focus on the French Revolution. It is astonishing that Schröder does not even mention the internal political disputes in the USA in the 1790's, when in fact the events in France were threatening to spread to America as well and were about to exert a decisive influence on the future constitutional development of the United States.

Chapter XIV sheds comparative light on the Revolution; see also Schröder's article in "Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 2", Göttingen 1976.

In his concluding chapter: "The Revolutionary Quality of Events in America" Schröder describes these as a "constitutional revolution" (pp. 194-97;

pp. 199–202): without any basic alteration of the organization of property and society, without a complete exchange of élites, and retaining on the whole existing constitutional elements, a radical new basis for government was successfully undertaken.

Dr. Hans-Christoph Junge

STRASBURGER, HERMANN

Studies in Ancient History. Vols I and II

[“Studien zur Alten Geschichte Band I und II”]

(Herausgegeben von Walter Schmitthenner und Renate Zoepffel, *Collectanea* XLII)

Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1982; XXXIV, 1143 pp.

Ever since he published his thesis on the *concordia ordinum*, the harmony of the classes in Republican Rome, in 1931, Professor H. Strasburger, who taught ancient history for many years at the universities of Frankfurt and Freiburg, has made most substantial and important contributions to his field, even though Nazi terror and the war deprived him of the time and leisure for research for more than a decade (see Schmitthenner’s moving biographical account: XVII–XXXIV).

As he always preferred the shorter form of essay or paper to long books for the presentation of his results, they were published in numerous journals and proceedings; and it is most welcome to have them assembled now (at least those which appeared before 1972) in two volumes which mirror the wide range of the author’s interests and competence: problems of Greek history (Alexander the Great) and especially of Greek historiography (Herodotus, Thucydides, Onesicritus and Posidonius), problems of Greek society (Homer), of political institutions (trierarchy), of political philosophy (the individual and the community in Greek thought), of the alleged influence of Stoic philosophers on the Romans (Scipionic circle) and Posidonius’ judgement of the Roman Empire; and again problems of Roman history: the legendary foundation of Rome; the structure of Roman society at the end of the republic (*concordia ordinum*; *nobiles*; *novus homo*; *optimates*), the role of Caesar and the reactions of his contemporaries to his political activities.

Again and again one finds Professor Strasburger combining the virtues of the classical scholar with those of the historian, i. e. conscientious analyses of texts with historical interpretation and assessment. On the basis of a careful reading of the sources he endeavours to place the particular phenomenon in its context and, thereby, to arrive at a fuller understanding and more adequate apprecia-

tion of e. g. the structure of a society, the role of a politician, or the concept or standards of an author.

There is much that students of Greek and Latin literature and ancient history can learn from these models of scholarship.

Professor Dr. C. Joachim Classen

THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG together with
THE STATE OFFICE OF HESSE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES

St. Elizabeth: Princess, Servant, Saint. Articles, Documentation, Catalogue

["Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog"]

Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1981; 570 pp., 179 ill., 12 colour plates, 7 maps

Born in 1207, the daughter of King Andrew II and Queen Gertrude of Hungary, Elizabeth was sent to Germany in 1211 to be betrothed to Count Lewis IV of Thuringia, himself still a mere child of eleven years of age at that time. They were married in 1221 and had three children before Lewis lost his life as a crusader in 1227. In order to be able to continue her pious and altruistic style of life, which was no longer appreciated at the Thuringian court after her husband's death, the young widow moved to Marburg in Hesse. There she spent the short span of life still left to her as a benefactress and even servant of the sick and the poor. In 1235, barely four years after her death on the 19th November 1231, she was canonised. Her fame spread rapidly throughout the medieval world and has not diminished since. This present volume was produced in connection with an exhibition commemorating the 750th anniversary of her death at Marburg. The articles discuss the contemporary sources covering her life and canonisation (F. G. Schmidt), the religious rôle of women at that time (K. Elm), the history and the court of Thuringia (F. Schwind), the impact of Konrad of Marburg (M. Werner and A. Patschovsky), the institutions of charity around 1200 (O. G. Oexle), the organisation of hospitals and St. Elizabeth's hospital (W. Moritz), the cult of St. Elizabeth during the 13th century (W. Brückner), the process of her canonisation (J. Lindner), the origins of the Teutonic Order at Marburg (H. Boockmann), the Emperor Frederick II's visit to Marburg in 1236 (H. Beumann), the history of the relics of St. Elizabeth (T. Franke) and several problems of art history connected with the saint (R. Kroos, M. Bierschenk, R. Koch, L. von Wolckens, R. Rückert). These are followed by a catalogue of the exhibition, with handbook-style explanations for every single item covering the following themes: princess of Hungary, countess of Thuringia, life at the

time of St. Francis of Assissi and under the influence of Konrad of Marburg, her life at Eisenach (Thuringia) and Marburg, her miracles and canonisation, the Teutonic Order and Frederick II at Marburg, the cult of St. Elizabeth. An index of the persons and places covered serves as a guide to the immense wealth of information crammed into this lavishly illustrated volume.

Dr. Franz Staab

WOJTOWYTSCH, MYRON

The Papacy and Councils from the Beginnings until Leo I (440 – 461).

Studies on the Origins of the Pope's Superordination over Councils

[“Papsttum und Konzilien von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I. (440 – 461).

Studien zur Entstehung der Überordnung des Papstes über Konzile”]

(Päpste und Papsttum, Band 17)

Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1981; 468 pp.

Since the time of the ecclesiastical reform linked with the name of Gregory VII (1073 – 85), the opinion to be found in the collections of canons is that it is only papal authority which makes conciliar decisions legally binding. Roman Catholic Canon Law as valid today clearly subordinates the councils to the pope, in particular that no ecumenical council may be held which has not been convoked by the pope, and that its decisions only gain binding force with papal confirmation. The history of the first eight ecumenical councils from Nicaea in 325 until the Council of Constantinople in 869/70 is not in accordance with this doctrine. However, it was in that period that those convictions took form among the popes which were to become the basis of the afore-mentioned legal conviction: a development which reached its climax under Leo I with his attitude towards the Council of Chalcedon in 451; very few new ideas were added to this. In his study, with the evidence from source material forming its central basis, Dr. Wojtowytsh deals with two complexes in particular: he enquires into the councils' own conception of themselves and the popes' conception of themselves with regard to these assemblies. Of fundamental importance for conciliar self-understanding is the fact that each council, even those of purely regional composition, considered itself justified and qualified in establishing Christian religious truth. To be sure, other bishops were informed of the decisions, so that they too could accede to them. Equally characteristic is the fact that the same could then also be made the subject of examination by a new council. Such a self-assuredness on the part of the councils was not just to be found in the East, but also in the West. Thus the quotation from the African Doctor of the Church and bishop, St. Augustine (354 – 430) “Roma locuta, causa finita” (Rome has spoken, the matter is

decided) cannot, in the present author's differentiated opinion, be regarded as recognition of a legal primacy for the popes. Agreement with Holy Scripture and tradition were, rather, the criteria for the validity of an ecclesiastical decision. Taken as a whole, there was a tendency present in the West to orientate oneself towards the Roman model and papal authority; in the East the pope could appear simply as head of the western church. One move was not, however, copied in the East: the doctrine, which had its origins in the last third of the fourth century and which rapidly gained acceptance, that the pope was monarchical head of the universal church, the reorganisation and the special status of the Roman church with legal precedence over the other churches. Under Popes Damasus (366 – 384) and Siricus (384 – 398), this change in papal self-understanding took place: there could no longer be any autonomous authorities in opposition to the successors, heirs and deputies of St. Peter, this also applying for the councils. In practice, this attitude can only be demonstrated for the period from the pontificate of Innocence I (401 – 417) on, with Leo I's pontificate bringing the first climax. In 449 he declared the Council of Ephesus invalid and in 451 gave the Council of Chalcedon instructions not to deal with the questions of faith on the agenda (they having been, he wrote, already decided with his doctrinal letter to Flavian of Constantinople), but to settle the differences arising from this. He refused to recognise the decision on the rights of the bishop of Constantinople. But what was still lacking was the conviction that only the pope could convoke councils, and that their decisions obtained their validity through papal approval. – Taken as a whole we here have an important contribution on the self-understanding of the early church which is fascinating by virtue of its differentiated judgement.

Dr. Ernst-Dieter Hehl

WOLFRAM, HERWIG

The History of the Goths. From the Beginnings to the Middle of the Sixth Century. Outline of an Historical Ethnography

[*"Geschichte der Goten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des Sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie"*]

München: Verlag C. H. Beck; XI, 495 pp.

For years, if not for decades, a "History of the Goths" in the form of a manual which satisfies modern requirements has been a desideratum of research. Evidently many historians avoided scholarly confrontation with a subject which had fallen into discredit thanks to nationalist excesses of the past. Among the few researchers who nevertheless did not shirk this task is

Professor Herwig Wolfram, author of the book reviewed here. He teaches medieval history at Vienna University and has won international respect through his numerous publications. We refer here above all to his "Gothic Studies" (I-III, Vienna 1975-76).

While authors of manuals can generally restrict themselves to summarizing the up-to-date results of research in a synthesis, Wolfram faced a more difficult task: he had to fill by his own individual investigations the research lacunae which had arisen through excessive neglect of this particular area of European early history. The excursions on his findings which this entailed, however, scarcely prejudice the continuity of the account. Wolfram has succeeded in turning the wealth of heterogeneous source material – literary, juridical and archaeological evidence – into a clearly structured and transparently described historical ethnography, taking as his guide the methods of Reinhard Wenskus, who with his book "Stammesbildung und Verfassung" (1961) introduced the ethnosociological approach to studies of German Antiquity.

Chapter 1 discusses the problem of the names of the Goths (Gutonen, Guten; Terwingen-Vesier and Greutungen-Ostrogoths). Chapter 2 deals with the forming of the Gothic tribes before the invasion of the Huns. Wolfram attributes special significance to certain "nuclei of tradition", or to the representatives of "successful traditions", as for instance the clan of the Amaler. It was from these that ethnogeneses, new Gothic tribal formations, were constantly emerging. In the following Chapters (3-5) Wolfram describes on a broad basis the forty-year migration and the origins of the West Goths, the subsequent history of the West Goths to 507 and that of the East Goths to 552.

The brief concluding chapter, entitled "Design for an Historical Ethnography, taking the Goths as an example", not only offers a summary of the results achieved but contains in addition to this stimulating comments on the nature of gentile societies. In this connection Wolfram emphasizes the general absence of peace in such societies. "The enemy is not simply the tribe living on the far side of a broad frontier zone, but even the neighbouring village, the next clan or the other kinship group. The only surprising thing is how such chaotic circumstances were felt by the tribal tradition itself to be harmonious. Subjectively, however, they were so, since a gentile society subsisted on the emotive notion of heroism. History is the knowledge of the 'deeds of valiant men'; only the warrior and the hero count. The tribe and the army are one, the gens is the 'people in arms'" (p. 450).

A number of maps and genealogical tables in appendices and an index of names, sources and references make the use of this undoubtedly important book still easier.

Professor Dr. Peter Kneissl

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